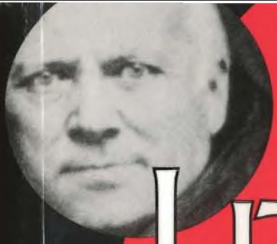

THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

GUÉRANGER TO BEAUDUIN TO BUGNIN

roots
radicals
results

Rev. Fr. Didier Bonneterre

Certainly, historically Dom Guéranger and Pope St. Pius X are truly at the origin of the Liturgical Movement, that is, "the renewal of fervor for the liturgy among the clergy and the faithful." But it is a false and pernicious claim that there has been a "homogenous development" in the Movement begun by them resulting in the New Order of Mass!

This deception cannot be accepted. That is why this book was written. The *Novus Ordo* derived from the thought of Dom Guéranger and Pope St. Pius X?! No way.

roots
radicals
results

The Liturgical Movement is a fast-reading book on the history of the Liturgical Movement of the last century. How was it diverted from its course? Who made up the brain-trust which led its early deviation? What was the principle error of these liturgical radicals? In the end, who hijacked the Movement to propagandize for Vatican II and a New Mass? Find out who were the major players hounding the Popes of the era: Beauduin, Bea, Parsch, Guardini, Casel, Jungmann, Lercaro, Botte, Reinhold, Winzen, Congar, Harscouet, (Gaspar) Lefebvre, Danielou, Fischer, Bugnini, Nocent, Bouyer, Thurian, Gy, *etc.*

The Liturgical Movement shows how since before Vatican II, the New Mass had already been conceived–the poisoned fruit of the ***perversions*** of the Liturgical Movement. How did the magnificent first-fruits of this great enterprise, which could have brought so much good to the Church, go so awfully bad?

Far from being negative, ***The Liturgical Movement*** helps us to know what to reject and what we must carefully conserve of the Liturgical Movement, above all for those who work for the maintenance of the Catholic Liturgy as heirs and successors of the work of Dom Gueranger and Pope St. Pius X.

The Liturgical Movement

Rev. Fr. Didier Bonneterre

ANGELUS PRESS

THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

FROM DOM GUÉRANGER TO ANNIBALE BUGNINI

or

THE TROJAN HORSE IN THE CITY OF GOD

Rev. Fr. Didier Bonneterre

ANGELUS PRESS
2915 FOREST AVENUE,
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64109

Originally published as *Le Mouvement Liturgique*
© 1980 Éditions Fideliter

The English version of *The Liturgical Movement* first appeared in the *Catholic Quarterly Review* as a series in 1987. Four translators collaborated on the work: Suzanne Robinson (Ch. 1, 3), the Reverend Basil Wrighton (Ch. 2, 4), Charlotte Britton (Ch. 5, 6) and Malcolm Potter (Ch. 7). Their work has been edited and the text completed to incorporate the author's changes and additions to the original articles made for the book.

Pictured on the cover (from upper left to lower right): Dom Prosper Guéranger, Dom Lambert Beauduin, and Archbishop Annibale Bugnini.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Bonneterre, Didier.
[Mouvement liturgique. English]
The liturgical movement : from Dom Guéranger to Annibale Bugnini, or, The Trojan horse in the City of God / Didier Bonneterre.
p. cm.
Includes index.
ISBN 1-892331-14-4
1. Liturgical movement--Catholic Church--History. 2. Catholic Church--Liturgy--History. I. Title: Trojan horse in the City of God. II. Title.

BX1975 .B6613 2002
264'.02'00904--dc21

2002034296

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Angelus Press
2915 Forest Avenue
Kansas City, Missouri 64109

ISBN 1-892331-14-4
First Printing—November 2002

Printed in the United States of America

I believe that divine worship as it is regulated by the liturgy, the ceremonial, the ritual, and the regulations of the Roman Church will, in the near future at an ecumenical council, undergo a transformation that will restore to it the venerable simplicity of the Apostolic golden age and harmonize it with modern civilization's new state of consciousness.–Paul Roca (1830-1893), apostate priest and Satanist in *L'Abbé Gabriel*

What Christianity seeks to build is, not a pagoda, but a universal religion that includes all religions.–By the same author in *Glorieux Centennaires*

PREFACE

At the urging of friends we decided to publish as a book the seven articles that appeared in the journal *Fideliter* from May 1978 to May 1979. We slightly revised and completed those articles, which constitute the seven main chapters of this book. We have added an epilogue on the influence of the Protestant milieu on the liturgical reform by including a little known and seldom mined resource: the Eucharistic rite of Taizé, dating from 1959.

Our study is not exhaustive. It has no other pretension than to be the outline of an investigation into the causes of the "auto-demolition of the Church" decried by Pope Paul VI.

Our diagnosis may seem severe to some, to those especially who, in the springtime of their priesthood, participated in the Liturgical Movement. Almost all of them today realize that their generosity was taken advantage of. If some disagree with our conclusions, let them tell us, and show us our errors.

We would also like to put our readers on guard against a certain intellectual habit that has spread like the plague in our reputedly "traditionalist" circles: the habit of pushing opinions to the extreme, which leads to taking the most "hard-line" position, whatever the cost, as if the truth of a proposition would suffer from being otherwise advanced.

May our readers also shun the habit of mind which oversimplifies things and discounts the necessary distinctions that must be made in order to reason correctly and judge justly.

Lastly, to indicate the orientation of our work, we subscribe wholeheartedly to the envoi which the Rev. Dulac addressed to all who would listen at the end of his remarkable work on episcopal collegiality at the Second Vatican Council. He wrote:

> I address the last lines of this work to my confreres, to our friends near or far. They suffer, we suffer the humiliations endured by our mother the Church during the course of this denatured Council and after. But we suffer *in the Church*! Let us not think that it is up to us, and at a distance, to heal her of her wounds. Let us remember the truly Catholic counsel given by

Denys of Alexandria to the schismatic Novatian: "If, as you claim, it is against your will (that you are separated from the Church), prove it by returning of your own will."

Let us remember this other advice of Yves de Chartres, which we dare appropriate to our object: "If it happens that certain complain of having been afflicted exceedingly by the authority of the Church herself, then let it be from her to her that they go and seek refuge; let them demand relief from the very one from whom they have suffered grief."

We desire, friends, vehemently, to keep the faith "of all time." But let it also be salutary faith. Let us believe, but "as we ought": *sicut oportet.*[1] This faith does not merely consist in exactitude. It is nothing, of course, if it does not conform, in its object and in its motives, to the revelation of the Word of God made man. But it is nothing, either, if it is not professed in the Church, *in medio Ecclesiae:* in this biological milieu into which we were plunged the day of our baptism, faith vitalizing the water, and the water sanctifying the faith, which is become the pure light that joins the soul of the faithful to the Light of glory of the Lord, living in His Church.

The Church of Africa knew, at the time of St. Augustine, a "crisis" that resembles our own. Let us remember the words which the Bishop of Hippo addressed one day to one of the Donatist leaders, Emeritus, who was present in the assembly. "Outside the Church, Emeritus can possess everything, except salvation. He can have the Episcopal dignity, he can have the Sacrament, he can sing the Alleluia, he can respond Amen, he can have the Gospel, and have and preach the faith; but nowhere, unless in the Church, will he be able to have salvation."

The Church first and foremost! She alone, the *Catholica*, visible in her visible head, the Bishop of Rome, though one day failing, she alone will know how to separate the pure wheat from the chaff of all the *aggiornamenti.*[2]

It is to help in this sifting of the wheat from the chaff that we have written this book *in caritate non ficta.*

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[1] A consecrated formula, that is found in canons of the Council of Orange (529 A.D.). See Dz 376. Its use is frequent in the theology of the Middle Ages.

[2] Rev. Raymond Dulac, *La collégialité épiscopale au deuxième Concile du Vatican* (Paris: Éditions du Cèdre, 1979), 159-160.

INTRODUCTION

The relationship suggested by such a title may seem rather bold to our reader, but it is not we who see a link between the author of the *Institutions Liturgiques* and the "gravedigger of the Mass" (Annibale Bugnini). It is the Roman authorities themselves. In fact, Pope Paul VI wrote to the Abbot of Solesmes on January 20, 1975, "I acknowledge the solidity and influence of the work of Dom Guéranger in whom the Liturgical Movement of today salutes its originator."

Already the Foreword of the *Institutio Generalis* of the New Missal claimed that contemporary reforms were the continuation of the work of St. Pius X. The conclusion of the Foreword claims that "Vatican II brought to completion all the efforts to bring the faithful closer to the Liturgy, efforts undertaken throughout the last four centuries, and especially in recent times, thanks to the liturgical zeal shown by St. Pius X and his successors."[1] Thus, and we can give an infinite number of examples, the most advanced liturgists and the "Conciliar Church" herself claim that there is continuity, and even a "homogeneous development," in the Liturgical Movement between Dom Guéranger, or even St. Pius X, and Annibale Bugnini.

That is a deception that we cannot accept! That is why we have written this book on the Liturgical Movement. We will endeavor to show the way in which the movement was diverted from its course. Certainly, historically Dom Guéranger and St. Pius X are truly at the origin of the Liturgical Movement, but it is false and pernicious to claim that this movement, at least in its contemporary forms, is derived from their thought; worse still that it is the continuation of their work. To expound this thesis, we must study the history of the Liturgical Movement, acknowledge its magnificent fruits, but also establish from external evidence the early deviations of this grandiose enterprise which could have brought so much to the Church.

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[1] *Documentation Catholique* (1970), p.568.

Jean Vaquié, in his remarkable work on the "liturgical revolution," called for a study of this question: "We must hope that this ante-conciliar period will be the object of study. Then we shall see the progressivists at work already shaping their arguments and positioning their people for the decisive attack."[2] May this book respond to this call! May it clarify some points which until now have remained obscure! Above all may it show that the contemporary liturgical revolt was not fruit born spontaneously, but that, on the contrary, it is the result of a long and patient work of undermining.

The Abbé de Nantes has already addressed himself to this question in an article entitled "D'où vient cette réforme?" (whence comes this reform).[3] But the Abbé de Nantes's conclusion to his enquiry differs greatly from our own. For him the Liturgical Movement was an excellent thing about which he has no reservations. This movement should have brought about a good and holy liturgical reform, and if it was distorted it was the fault of Paul VI—who alone takes responsibility for this deviation. For us, on the contrary, the Liturgical Movement which was, admittedly, a magnificent work at the outset, was prey to serious deviations in its very early stages, and by a process common to all revolutions; that is, by continual overreaching of its target, this movement reached the point of totally denying its origins well before Vatican II and preaching a reform which could only end with the New Mass.

For us Pope Paul VI, and we are not trying to exonerate him, is not responsible for the deviation of a reform which could have been good. For us he is only the "producer" of a "scenario" of which he was not the principal author. Since before Vatican II, the *Novus Ordo Missae* had already been conceived—the poisoned fruit of the perversions of the Liturgical Movement.

Far from being negative, such a study enables us to discern what we must reject and what we must carefully conserve of the Liturgical Movement. It is vitally important that above all we who

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[2] Jean Vaquié, *La révolution liturgique* (Chiré-en-Montreuil: Diffusion de la pensée française, 1971), p.79.

[3] *Contre-Réforme-Catholique*, no.101 (January 1976). The Abbé Georges de Nantes borrows his documentation from the work of Dom Bernard Botte, O.S.B., "*Le mouvement liturgique*": *Témoignage et souvenirs* (Desclée, 1973).

work for the maintenance of Catholic Liturgy become the heirs and successors of the work of Dom Guéranger and St. Pius X. We make the wishes of St. Pius X our own:

> ...Our keen desire being that the true Christian spirit may once more flourish, cost what it may, and be maintained among all the faithful....We deem it necessary to provide before aught else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its primary and indispensable source, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church....[4]

[4] *Tra le Sollecitudini*, November 22, 1903.

CHAPTER I

FROM THE ORIGINS TO 1920

We will define the Liturgical Movement with Dom Olivier Rousseau, O.S.B., as "the renewal of fervor for the liturgy among the clergy and the faithful."[5] The principal author of the renewal was a Benedictine monk, justly famous: Dom Guéranger.

In the eighteenth century, the liturgy had ceased to be a vital force in Catholicism. The liturgy, so admirably restored by St. Pius V,[6] had suffered the repeated assaults of Jansenism and Quietism. The disciples of Jansenius had led the faithful away from the practice of the sacraments. The Quietists, who had claimed to reach God directly, had turned souls away from the liturgy, which is the intermediary determined by the Church between God and ourselves. This was the period when triumphant Gallicanism was composing its diocesan liturgies, which resembled one another only in their anti-Roman character. In Germany, Febronius, Auxiliary Bishop of Treves, was spreading his ideas; in Italy there was the work of Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia—condemned with his council by Pope Pius VI in the bull *Auctorem Fidei* on August 28, 1794.[7]

The whole of Europe therefore was floundering in the "anti-liturgical heresy" when the revolution broke out in France. The cult of Catholicism was forbidden, and replaced by that of the goddess of Reason. The Concordat of 1801 restored hope—but only trials for the liturgy! The people had lost the taste for it, the clergy themselves did not like these ceremonies that they no longer really understood, all the more so as the restoration of Catholicism had brought back the many Gallican liturgies.

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[5] Aimé-Georges Martimort *et al.*, *L'Église en prière: Introduction à la liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), p.51.

[6] P. Tilloy, "Saint Pie V, un pape pour notre temps," *Forts dans la foi*, 1974.

[7] *Auctorem Fidei,* in Henry Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, §1501. [Numbered references are to *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari from the 30th ed. of Henry Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1954). Hereafter abbreviated Dz followed by the section number.]

But the hope of a real restoration remained possible. Already Chateaubriand, with his works *The Genius of Christianity* and *The Martyrs* had revealed to the French of that time all the marvels of the liturgy of the Middle Ages. A new generation of young people was incited to pore over the manuscripts of antiquity and to discover there ceremonies of which the fragmented liturgies of the time could give no exact idea. Among these studious young minds there is one that stands out—that of Prosper Louis Pascal Guéranger (1805-1875).[8] This is not the place to recount the life of the founder of the French Benedictine Congregation; we will restrict ourselves simply to indicating the main themes of his immense liturgical activities, deliberately putting to one side his theological work and his restoration of Gregorian chant.

In his "Considérations sur la liturgie catholique," published in the *Memorial* of 1830, the future founder of Solesmes specified the twofold goal of his liturgical work: In the first place, to bring back the clergy to a knowledge and love of the Roman liturgy. To this end, starting in 1840 he would publish *Les Institutions liturgiques,*[9] a closely argued attack on the neo-Gallican liturgies and a wonderful demonstration of the antiquity and the beauties of the Roman liturgy. Secondly, Dom Guéranger set out to unite the faithful with the hierarchy when it celebrates the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, administers the sacraments, and celebrates the Divine Office. For this he would publish, starting in 1841, an annotated translation of the liturgical texts spread over the liturgical year—his famous *Liturgical Year.* "*The Liturgical Year* of Dom Guéranger," wrote Dom Festugière,

> is quite simply a wonder for revealing to all kinds of souls, whatever their degree of instruction, the spiritual riches contained in the liturgy. This adaptability in such a work is quite remarkable. *The Imitation of Jesus Christ* in no way possesses it to the same degree. What is the explanation? It is surely the temperament of the liturgy itself which the Abbot of Solesmes has completely penetrated. *The Liturgical Year* participates in something that does not come from the hands of men.[10]

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[8] Dom Paul Delatte, *Dom Guéranger, Abbé de Solesmes*, 2 vols. (Plon-Mame, 1910).

[9] *Institutions liturgiques*, 3 vols. (Le Mans: Flueriot, 1840); 2nd ed. 4 vols. (1860); "Extracts," ed. Jean Vaquié (Diffusion de la pensée française, 1977).

Meanwhile Dom Guéranger had founded Solesmes and its congregations to continue his work, a work crowned with success, as before his death in 1875 he had the consolation of knowing that all the dioceses of France had returned to the Roman rite, and that already liturgical devotion was flourishing among the clergy and the faithful. For Dom Guéranger the liturgy is above all: Confession, prayer and praise, rather than instruction.[11] "Dom Guéranger," wrote Dom Froger,

> therefore rediscovered the liturgy, he unhesitatingly discerned what it is in essence: public cult in which the Church directed by the Holy Ghost, Who brings it to life and Who prays within it with "wordless cries," sings to God its faith, its hope, and its charity.
>
> Without in the least misunderstanding the formative and educative value of this prayer for the faithful who practice it, Dom Guéranger considered quite rightly that the liturgy, being a spiritual sacrifice, has praise as its main end, and that it sings the glory of God in an objective way in the forgetfulness of self. Above all an expression of sentiments of faith, confidence, love, joy, hope, *etc.*, the liturgy cannot but have recourse to song, music, and poetry, as the only language capable of expressing the transports of its "sober inebriation."

Thus the liturgy is lyrical rather than didactic.[12]

The liturgy for the Abbot of Solesmes is essentially God-centered. In this vein Dom Delatte wrote:

> Thus the work of sanctification and supernatural education accomplished by the liturgy in the course of time within those souls who place themselves within her hands, correlates with the work of glorification and adoration which it fulfills towards God. Souls will sanctify themselves so as to enter more deeply into the state of spirit and truth in which they should adore God. Souls raise themselves up so that the devotion they offer to God is more worthy of Him. Their supernatural education progresses with time, so that they can endlessly praise and glorify God in

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[10] Dom Maurice Festugière, O.S.B., *La liturgie catholique: Essai de synthèse*, (Maredsous, 1913).

[11] Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, vol.1, ch.1.

[12] Dom J. Froger, "L'encyclique *Mediator Dei* et la liturgie,"*La Pensée catholique*, no.7 (1948).

> eternity. It is in God and His glory that finally the whole order of things will reach its term and completion.[13]

At the same time at Mesnil-St.-Loup, Fr. Emmanuel was working to restore the liturgical life of his parish.[14] Dom Bernard Maréchaux wrote:

> There within these confined limits where he spent his whole life, he had welded together the teaching of faith and liturgy so well, that the faithful did not think themselves Christians if they were not trying to understand the liturgical texts in order to pray better, and to honor God with a more perfect praise....This phenomenon of liturgical Christian life lasted for more than fifty years without losing strength. It was not a mere "flash in the pan." It demonstrates these two points of utmost importance: that the simple faithful, by the grace of their baptism are fitted for liturgical prayer; and that to bring them to love this prayer in a spirit of faith is the most effective way, if not the only way, to stop the desertion of the churches. Is not Fr. Emmanuel, who brought these truths to light and solved this pressing problem so practically, worthy to have his name set beside Dom Guéranger?[15]

For our part we do not hesitate to give the humble monk a place close to the famous abbot. Fr. Emmanuel was in fact the first to put the principles of Dom Guéranger into practice. They both deserve to be regarded as "co-founders" of the Liturgical Movement, that is, of the renewal of fervor for the liturgy amongst the clergy and the people.

Born of Benedictine fathers, the story of the Liturgical Movement was for a long time linked with the Order of St. Benedict. The Movement was born at the same time as the French Congregation and developed with it, rapidly spreading beyond the frontiers of France. While Dom André Mocquereau (1849-1930), Dom Joseph Pothier (1835-1923), and Dom Paul Cagin (1847-

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[13] Delatte, *Dom Guéranger*, p.260.

[14] Louis Émile Ernest André, the future Fr. Emmanuel, was born in 1826 in the diocese of Troyes in the province of Champagne. After his ordination, he was appointed parish priest of Mesnil-Saint-Loup in 1849, where he remained until his death in 1903. While there, he founded two monasteries, many vocations to which came from his own parish.

[15] Dom Maréchaux, "Dom Guéranger et le Père Emmanuel," *Notre Dame de la Sainte Espérance*, October, 1910.

1923) were continuing the work of their founder in their motherhouse, Solesmes set up its first foundations. These were firstly Beuron, Germany, in 1863, which then itself founded Maredsous, Belgium, in 1872, then Mont César at Louvain, Belgium, in 1899, while Dom Guépin set off to Spain to restore Silos in 1880.

The expulsion of the religious orders from France would for a time move the center of gravity of the Liturgical Movement. The center would no longer be in France, but in Belgium; already in 1882, Dom Gerard van Caloen, a monk of Maredsous and future bishop of Phocee, was publishing a *Missal for the Faithful in Latin and French*. This was later followed by the *Little Missal for the Laity*, which achieved great success. In 1884, he founded the *Messager des fidèles* which in 1890 became the learned *Revue Benedictine*. In 1889 at the Eucharistic Congress of Lièges, he presented a very daring thesis for the time: the communion of the faithful during the Mass. In 1898 a second journal was founded, also in the Abbey of Maredsous: *Le Messager de Saint Benoît*. In 1911, this became more concerned with liturgy under the title of the *Revue liturgique et monastique*.

However, before we continue our study of the Belgian Liturgical Movement, we must take a look at Rome, where in 1903 the person who was to give the movement a definite impetus had just ascended to the See of Peter—St. Pius X. Gifted with an immense pastoral experience, this saintly pope suffered terribly from the decadence of liturgical life. But he knew that a trend for renewal was developing, and he decided to do his utmost to ensure that it bring forth good fruits. That is why on November 22, 1903, he published his famous *motu proprio Tra le Sollecitudini* restoring Gregorian chant. In this document he inserted the vital sentence which went on to play a determining role in the evolution of the Liturgical Movement:

> Our keen desire being that the true Christian spirit may once more flourish, cost what it may, and be maintained among all the faithful, We deem it necessary to provide before anything else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its primary and indispensable source, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and the public and solemn prayer of the Church.

Pope St. Pius X was not a just wishful thinker, and he energetically carried out his program of liturgical renewal. Let us remember his exhortation to frequent communion and to the communion of young children in the decrees *Sacra Tridentina* of December 20, 1905, and *Quam Singulari* of August 8, 1910; his letter of June 14, 1905, to Cardinal Respighi asking for the catechism to be completed by an introduction to the liturgical feasts; the bull *Divino Afflato* of November 1, 1911, in which this genius reformed the Breviary, "a scheme which restores the office of the season"—writes Msgr. Batiffol—"without in anyway diminishing the office of the saints, a scheme at once daring, elegant, and, with the help of God, definitive."[16] By designating the "active participation in the holy mysteries" as "the primary and indispensable source of the true Christian spirit,"[17] St. Pius X gave a fresh impetus to the renewal of liturgical fervor. For him as for Dom Guéranger, the liturgy is essentially theocentric; it is for the worship of God rather than for the teaching of the faithful. Nevertheless, this great pastor underlined an important aspect of the liturgy: it is educative of the true Christian spirit. But let us stress that this function of the liturgy is only secondary.

The merit of having understood all that could be learned from the teaching of St. Pius X falls to Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960). Alas, this monk was unable to maintain throughout his life this hierarchy of the ends of the liturgy (*i.e.*, worship first, teaching second), as we shall see in the course of this study, but let us not anticipate.

Dom Lambert Beauduin at first was a priest of the diocese of Liège, a "workers' missionary" under Pope Leo XIII. In 1906, at the age of thirty-three, he entered the Abbey of Mont César, which had been founded by the monks of Maredsous at Louvain a few years earlier (1899). Because of his previous activity among the secular clergy, his mind had become habitually occupied by the problems of the apostolate and pastoral work, and so he viewed the liturgy in light of his habitual preoccupations. Very speedily he "discovered" in the liturgy, following St. Pius X, a wonderful method for forming the faithful in the Christian life.

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[16] *La Croix*, December 28, 1911.

[17] *Tra le Sollecitudini.*

In 1909 he launched a Liturgical Movement at Mont César which was an immediate success.[18]

Let us take a quick look at the stages of progress. First of all was the Catholic Congress at Malines in 1909. Cardinal Mercier[19] supported Dom Beauduin's program with all the weight of his authority. Four objectives were fixed: *1)* Translate the Roman Missal, make this book the primary devotional book of the faithful, and popularize at least Sunday Mass and Vespers; *2)* make an effort to help make the piety of the faithful more liturgical and Holy Communion received at Mass; *3)* foster the use of Gregorian chant in accordance with the desire of the Pope; *4)* encourage the members of choirs to make retreats at centers of liturgical life: Benedictine abbeys.

Once these objectives were specified and strongly encouraged by the Belgian episcopate, Dom Beauduin worked to win priests over to his cause, especially parish priests. To this end he launched two magazines which had immense success (70,000 subscriptions in a few months). These were *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, and *Semaines liturgiques*. Finally in 1914 he published a booklet, *La piété liturgique, principes et faits.*

But let us quote Dom Froger in his masterly article:

> Dom Lambert Beauduin's action not only had the effect of giving a new impetus to the movement created by Dom Guéranger, it also finished by making the liturgy appear in a new light. Dom Lambert Beauduin's view is no longer quite the same as Dom Guéranger's: that of contemplative prayer, disinterested lyricism which sings its love without other objective than that of praise. Dom Lambert Beauduin did not misunderstand this aspect of the liturgy, but he preferred to put the accent on its didactic aspect; he considered the liturgy rather in its action upon souls than in its role of sanctification. [20]

Dom Froger takes the conclusion of his analysis further still: "It is no longer a question of liturgy as such, rather of pastoral liturgy."

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[18] Dom J. Froger, "L'encyclique *Mediator Dei* et la liturgie," *La Pensée Catholique*, no.7, (1948).

[19] Désiré Joseph Cardinal Mercier (1851-1926). He was consecrated Archbishop of Mechlin, Belgium, in 1906, and created cardinal priest on April 15, 1907.

[20] *Ibid.*

Thus with Dom Lambert Beauduin the Liturgical Movement tends to become a "Liturgical Pastoral Movement." It is true that St. Pius X had underlined the educative value of the liturgy; Dom Lambert Beauduin "tends" to insist too much upon this aspect. Let us note in passing that Dom Festugière remained faithful to the "theocentric" view of Dom Guéranger. However, let us clearly state that at this period it was only a tendency of Dom Beauduin's to insist too much on the didactic aspect of the liturgy. We are still infinitely far from the inversion of aims in the liturgy that we see later on in the history of the Liturgical Movement. Let us add with Fr. Louis Bouyer: "Here, then, is the clue to the great importance of the Belgian movement—that it never got lost in archaeologism or antiquarianism, and it was never tempted to wander off into innovations of doubtful value."[21] Besides, let us be fair to the "Belgian Movement" and recognize that if Dom Lambert Beauduin "tends" to over-emphasize the pastoral aspect of the liturgy, he is not the only one in the field. We have already mentioned Dom Festugière, but we must not forget Dom Gaspar Lefebvre of St. André-de-Lophem, Dom Marmion, Dom Flicoteaux, Dom Vandeur, nor Dom Cabrol of Farnborough in England.

All these monks of genius set to work, and books of propaganda abounded. Firstly one must mention "La Liturgie catholique," a long article published in the *Revue de philosophie* (France) from the pen of the great philosopher and thinker Dom Festugière, a Benedictine of Maredsous. This article in 1913 provoked an immense polemic. In his article, Dom Festugière developed the thought of St. Pius X on the liturgy as "primary and indispensable source of the spiritual life." The Jesuits—wrongly—thought themselves attacked in this serene statement. On November 20, 1913, the magazine *Les Études* violently retaliated with an article by Fr. Navatel entitled, "L'apostolat liturgique et la piété personelle." This Jesuit maintained to all intents and purposes, that piety was quite possible without the liturgy, and in

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[21] Fr. Louis Bouyer, *La vie de la liturgie,* Collection *Lex Orandi* (Cerf, 1956), p.85. [Citations are taken from the English version of the work published under the title *Liturgical Piety* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1955), p.63.]

that way tended to contradict St. Pius X. The Benedictine's reply was brilliant:

> He was going to attack a propaganda effort, which seemed (to him) injurious to truth, for the good of souls and for the intention of the Apostolic See. Hardly had Fr. Navatel, in his exordium, set out his wishes for the restoration of a liturgical sense among the faithful, addressed almost exaggerated eulogies to the sons of St. Benedict who devote themselves to that work, and protested his zeal to embrace those interests that the Papacy recommends, than, forgetting his good intentions and turning his arguments around, he began to attack, on almost all points, the cause of public prayer and the rites of the Church—the fundamental principles, the history, the sociological bases, the value as an apostolic method, its natural effect of obtaining the sanctification of souls—in sum he sets out to discredit the work of those he calls "neo-liturgists." [22]

Dom Festugière stayed his arguments with the authority of St. Pius X, and with talent made an able demonstration of the educative and apostolic value of the liturgy, all the while respecting the "theocentricity" of liturgical worship. The First World War put an end to the controversy, and once spirits had calmed down, Fr. Peeters, S.J., knew how to show that there was no antagonism between Ignatian spirituality and the liturgy.[23] This quarrel had the merit of making the Liturgical Movement known to everyone, and of spreading this "renewal" throughout the whole world.

In France, priests and seminarians would go and take part in liturgical weeks and retreats in the Belgian Benedictine monasteries and return animated with a desire to restore the liturgy in their churches. This restoration took place especially during the sad war years, and, most surprising, in the occupied part of France. Dom Lefebvre and Msgr. Charost multiplied manifestations at Lille, Roubaix, and Tourcoing. The Vicar General Leconte, Canon Dehove, Dom Lefebvre, Fr. Bayard, published a review, *La voix de l'Église*, which became the *Revue pratique de liturgie et de musique sacrée.* Farther away from the front line of battle liturgical

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[22] *Revue Thomiste,* 1914, nos.1-3.

[23] P. Peeters, S. J., *Methode Ignatienne et spiritualité liturgique* (Louvain, 1918), and Conferences at the Congress in Malines (1924).

associations multiplied: Friends of Cathedrals, Friends of Gregorian Chant, *etc.* At the Catholic Institute of Paris, Msgr. Batiffol gave a series of conferences on the Mass.[24] Fr. Harscouet, future bishop of Chartres, published some interesting studies on the Masses of Lent and the Masses for Ember Days, then on the Masses for Eastertide.[25] Dom Adrien Gréa (1828-1917) wrote *La sainte Liturgie.*[26] Then he brought out an edition of the Roman Breviary with his own preface and translated into French by the Bruges Carmel. Dom J.-M. Besse (1861-1920), an ardent and impassioned apostle of the liturgy, took up the struggle with the review *La vie et les arts liturgiques*, which disappeared shortly after his death.

Once peace returned, the Liturgical Movement grew even more. Suffice it to mention the liturgical week at Rouen, the liturgical and Gregorian days at Toumus, the Gregorian days at Lourdes (1920), actively directed by Dom Lucien David, and above all the General Congress of Sacred Music at Tourcoing (1919), a real triumph for the liturgy, graced by the presence of Louis-Ernest Cardinal Dubois and several bishops and mitred abbots. Later the Congress of Strasbourg took place where the French Association of St. Cecilia was formed with the nuncio of Paris as president. Amongst other desired goals this Congress listed the following: teaching of the liturgy and Gregorian chant, communion of the faithful at the moment of the Sacrifice, the faithful to associate themselves with the Mass by the reading of the text, *etc.* In December 1922, a congress of Gregorian chant and religious music was held in Paris. This was the work of Cardinal Dubois and the monks of Solesmes, who had returned to their native land after long years of exile. In 1924, Cardinal Dubois founded a Gregorian Institute in Paris. In a letter dated April 11, Pius XI informed him of his "lively satisfaction." What vast renewal was produced in less than twenty years.

In this period Holland was one of the best organized countries from the liturgical point of view. Each diocese had its liturgical society, a commission of ecclesiastics officially appointed by

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[24] Msgr. Pierre Batiffol, *Leçons sur la Messe* (Paris: Gabalda, 1920).
[25] Éditions Saint-Brieux, 1918; and Paris: Art Catholique, 1922.
[26] Paris: Bonne Presse, 1909.

the bishop to promote the Liturgical Movement in the diocese. These well-organized societies were grouped in a national federation given approved status by the episcopate as early as 1915, and endowed with a review, *Maandschrift voor Liturgie*, which had more than 5,000 subscribers. From 1914-19 this federation distributed 209,070 copies of printed liturgical propaganda. Indeed, what zeal!

In Germany, the center of the Liturgical Movement was Maria Laach Abbey. Here periodically liturgical weeks were organized in a practical way for different social classes. The monks spread conferences throughout Germany. A collection of writings in *Ecclesia Orans* complemented and completed the oral teaching. Franz Xaver Reck (1853-1924) published *The Missal Meditated.* In 1921, Dom Anselm Schott published a missal in the vernacular. Other Benedictine abbeys such as St. Joseph's in Westphalia, Ettel in Bavaria, and Beuron in Hohenzollern were also very active centers of the Liturgical Movement. Already at this period we meet names we shall find again and again throughout this study: Dom Odo Casel (1886-1948); Pius Parsch (1884-1954), an Augustinian Canon of Klosterneuburg, Austria; Romano Guardini (1885-1968), a secular priest. Of course, in 1920 the writings of these authors remained moderate, but that did not last long, as we shall see in the next chapter. It was in Germany that the Liturgical Movement experienced its first and perhaps most serious deviations.

In Italy, growth of renewal dates from 1913. In this year two liturgical retreats were preached for the clergy in the diocese of Aosta by Dom Beauduin and Dom Besse. Their instruction was complemented by a pastoral letter from Msgr. Tasco, who encouraged all the faithful to take an active part in the celebration of the liturgy. In 1921, Cardinal La Fontaine, Patriarch of Venice, organized Lenten Stations in his city, imitating the ancient stations in Rome. In September 1920, a course of lectures on the sacred liturgy was organized in the Benedictine Abbey of Cava. His Holiness Benedict XV sent a telegram to encourage and bless the priests who attended this course. At the same time the Twelfth National Congress of the Italian Association of Sacred Music took place in Turin. Cardinal Gasparri wrote to those attending the Congress that the august Pontiff "ardently wishes that the faithful

would participate more fully and more actively in the liturgy." For the first time, His Holiness Pius XI celebrated a dialogue midnight Mass at the Eucharistic Congress in Rome in 1922. The dialogue Mass was the rallying cry of the Liturgical Movement at that time. We will soon see how we should regard it. The "Italian Movement" had as instruments of propaganda the *Rivista liturgica* of the Benedictines of Padua and Genoa, the *Bollettino liturgico* of the Most Reverend Dom Caronti of Parma, and the *Ambrosius* of Milan. Let us not forget the famous missals of Dom Caronti and Dom Battisti. In 1919, Cardinal Schuster wrote his famous *Liber Sacramentorum,* a profound study of the liturgical year.[27] The "renewal of liturgical fervor" in Italy, blessed by the popes and by eminent cardinals, experienced, therefore, an immense success, and it was only much later that it deviated from its original orientation.

In Spain, the seats of "renewal" were the two abbeys of Silos and Montserrat. Montserrat published *Revista Montserratina*, and in 1915 organized a huge congress, which had spectacular success. Blessed by Benedict XV, encouraged by the support of the apostolic nuncio and Cardinals Serafini, O.S.B., Billot, S.J., Gasquet, O.S.B., and numerous bishops, and especially uplifted by the presence of 2,000 members of the congress, of whom 300 were priests, this congress passed resolutions: to intimately associate the faithful with the sacred liturgy, and to put the liturgical books into vernacular editions. Dom Prado and Dom Gubianas published missals, while Dom Lefebvre's *Daily Missal* was translated into Spanish. The Spanish Liturgical Movement was therefore full of promise, but as we shall see, it was thwarted by the revolution, and when it reappeared it was only to suffer the repercussions of the French and German deviations.

In the United States, the Liturgical Movement was especially concerned with the formation of children. In June 1920, the International Congress of Gregorian Chant was held in New York. The Mass was sung by 4,000 children from 47 Catholic schools in the city. At that time 500,000 children learned Gregorian chant in the Catholic schools. Numerous publications nourished the pi-

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[27] Ildephonsus Cardinal Schuster, *Liber Sacramentorum* (Brussels: Vromant, 1925).

ety of the faithful: *The Roman Missal* (Dom Cabrol), *The Sunday Mass* (Fr. F. X. Lasance), *The Daily Missal* (Dom Gaspar Lefebvre). *Liturgia* by the same author was translated under the title of *The Catholic Liturgy.* In 1921, Dom Virgil Michel, O.S.B., published *My Sacrifice and Yours*; the Rev. Fr. Hoffeman, O.S.B., published a *Liturgical Dictionary*; the Dominican nuns of Marywood (Michigan) published five brochures, *With Mother Church*, aimed at teaching liturgy in the classroom, *etc.* As we shall see in the rest of this study, the "American Movement" began very well and only deviated under pressure from the French and German movements, but this did not occur until the years after the Second World War.

This rapid scan of the Liturgical Movement throughout the world in the years before and after World War I allows us to gauge its huge growth. Born of Dom Guéranger's genius and the indomitable energy of St. Pius X, the movement at this time brought magnificent fruits of spiritual renewal. However, one must not delude oneself, the "apostolic" character of the liturgy which Dom Beauduin "tended" to over-emphasize was to become more and more pervasive. And that was to be the great temptation of the movement: to make the liturgy a means of apostolate above all; to bend the liturgy to the needs of the apostolate. The crux of the matter is there. As we shall see, it was through being unable to withstand this temptation that this magnificent work broke down and brought with it nearly the entire fabric of the Church.

CHAPTER 2

BETWEEN THE WARS

We have shown in our first chapter the origins of the Liturgical Movement. Arising from the genius of Dom Guéranger, from the will of St. Pius X, and from the zeal of Dom Beauduin, this "renewal of fervor for the liturgy" had undergone a prodigious development, and produced the magnificent fruits which we have noticed. We have likewise stressed the precocious germs of future deviations which Dom Beauduin had planted in the very principles of his movement. But let us continue our study and tarry awhile on the strange personality of Dom Beauduin, father of the Belgian movement, before we proceed to Germany to discover Dom Casel.

We left the famous monk of Mont César on the eve of the War of 1914-1918: he was directing, with indefatigable zeal, the Belgian Liturgical Movement. The war, and a series of unexpected meetings, were about to divert him for a time from the liturgy into the troubled circles of ecumenism. As the trusted confidant of Cardinal Mercier—who usually showed better discernment—Dom Lambert Beauduin played a main part in the Belgian resistance to the German invaders. Not only did he draft almost entirely the famous letter of Cardinal Mercier exhorting Belgium to resistance, but he also undertook its diffusion, calling in his brother of the famous sugar-works of Tirlemont. After a succession of fantastic adventures, Dom Lambert Beauduin had to seek refuge in England; and there most notably he made ties of friendship with a number of Anglican personages.

After the armistice Dom Beauduin could return to Mont César, where he met with Msgr. Szeptycki,[28] Primate of the Uniate Church, who kindled in him his own passionate love of the Orient, along with his ideas on the monastic life. Our monk, who

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[28] Msgr. Andrzej Szeptycki, Metropolitan of Lvov in Galicia, Primate of the Uniate Church, *i.e.*, that portion of the Orthodox Church which the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk alone of the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, had restored to communion with Rome.

was already chafing at his too "Beuronian," too "Guérangean" monastery (that is to say, in fact, too conservative, or too Catholic), our monk, I say, could now dream of nothing else but a new monastic foundation which would restore the life of the monks who originally came from the East. Dom Robert de Kerchove, who had a deep regard for his somewhat "restless" monk, had a mind to give him the chance of more "elbow-room." So it turned out that Dom Beauduin was appointed to the teaching staff of St. Anselm's College in Rome.[29]

The Abbot-Primate of St. Anselm's, Dom Fidelis de Stotzingen, a very conservative monk, was unable to control his new professor, who was soon to infatuate his pupils with the Orient. This passion for the Eastern Church was only increased in Dom Beauduin by his meetings with Cyril Korolevsky, and especially with Father (soon to be Monsignor) Michel d'Herbigny, S.J.[30] In so acting Dom Beauduin was meeting the known wishes of the new pope who, in February 1922, succeeded Benedict XV. In fact, Pope Pius XI from the beginning of his pontificate showed that he had a passionate interest in the East—in that enormous Russian block which still, in these years following the October Revolution, seemed to be hesitating in an unstable balance between alternative courses.

Urged on by Msgr. d'Herbigny, the impetuous Pius XI was going to liven things up: on March 21, 1924, he sent to the Abbot-Primate the apostolic brief *Equidem Verba*, in which the Sovereign Pontiff took up the grand ideas of Dom Beauduin on the capital role to be played by a Benedictine foundation of a new type towards a *rapprochement* with the East.

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[29] The college founded by Leo XIII in 1887 as a world center of theological studies for the Benedictine Order.

[30] Msgr. Michel d'Herbigny (1880-1957), an ardent Orientalist. Pius XI made him his confidential agent for Eastern affairs. Appointed in October 1922 President of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, and in April 1930 President of the Pontifical Commission "Pro Russia." Consecrated bishop in 1926 by Archbishop Pacelli in Berlin, he tried without success to restore the Catholic hierarchy in the USSR. In December 1931, he resigned from the Oriental Institute. On May 31, 1934, he resigned from the "Pro Russia" Commission, officially "for reasons of health." He then retired into Belgium, where he spent the remainder of his life as a simple religious, in strict seclusion.

The Abbot-Primate of St. Anselm's was baffled by all this. How could the Pope give support to a monk whom he (the Abbot) considered to be "of a highly sanguine temperament, an extremely vivid imagination, afire and ablaze for his own projects, almost contemptuous of the Western Church, a man with a powerful attraction to external activity?"[31] Dom Fidelis failed to understand that behind Pius XI there were Msgr. d'Herbigny and Cardinal Mercier, who at this period was obsessed by a whirlwind of "Unionism." In fact, 1924 was the year of the Malines Conferences.[32]

Dom Beauduin, as theologian to Cardinal Mercier, prepared for these conferences a report on "the Anglican Church united but not absorbed." In it he brought out in to the daylight his more than dubious ideas on ecumenism. But let us now hear Fr. Louis Bouyer, who is well-informed on the matter:

> Not only did this report contain serious errors, but it was in itself a still more serious error. Instead of trying to define the exact positions reached by both parties, he adopted the hypothesis of a unity of faith, already achieved. On this foundation he built a plan which could only be chimerical. The image of a uniate Anglican patriarchate, in which the Anglican liturgy, canon law, and traditional customs would be safeguarded, was copied from the status granted in principle to the Eastern Churches which entered into union with Rome. But he ignored the fact that nothing, either in the past or the present of the Anglican Church, allowed it to be assimilated to theirs. However, there was worse to come. Since it was impossible to ignore the existence of a Catholic Church in England, side by side with the An-

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[31] From a letter to Dom de Kerchove, January 20, 1925.

[32] Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin*, p.126. Malines Conferences: a series of friendly talks between certain Anglicans and certain Catholics, with the aim of defining their respective positions. Their first mover was Lord Halifax, chairman of the English Church Union, a section of the topmost "High Church," at that time desirous of a *rapprochement* with Rome. Encouraged by Pius XI, Cardinal Mercier represented the Catholic party. One cannot ignore the various handicaps which encumbered the Malines Conferences from the start: ill-will of the Catholic hierarchy in England, and hardly more sympathy from the Anglican hierarchy. Besides this double state of prejudice there was the ambiguous position of Halifax himself: an Anglican fully attached to his Church, but giving a false impression of the real state of the Anglican Church. The appearance of Dom Beauduin's report was to confuse everything.

> glican Church, it was of this Church that one calmly foresaw the absorption, on the supposition of an Anglican Church "united but not absorbed." All the consequences of this were drawn, even including the suppression of the episcopal sees created in the nineteenth century, with the dismissal of their occupants.[33]

Nothing of this was known until later, about 1926. Meanwhile, Dom Beauduin was to found his monastery, realizing thereby the wishes of *Equidem Verba.* Pius XI was becoming impatient, and the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church was giving the green light. Dom Beauduin waited no longer. In 1925 he founded the "Monastery of Union" at Amay-sur-Meuse, in Belgium. During this same year he drew up the statutes of the foundation:

> His monks, while remaining completely faithful to the Roman Church, aim at forming for themselves an oriental soul, rediscovering all the riches native to the Christian Orient, and absorbing them in full. They aim at acquiring a soul as catholic as possible, throwing off all particular prejudices, racial or national, and especially resolved to put into practice, as far as lies with them, everything that these same pontiffs have said and repeated, so that Catholicism may no longer be confused with Latinism.
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> The means to be employed are: initiation into Eastern liturgical prayer; profound study of the Orient; observation of the contemporary *rapprochement* between Orthodox and Anglicans; free hospitality towards all those, Catholics or others, who are preoccupied with the problem; eventual foundations in the East, in order to demonstrate *in situ* the possibility of realizing a Catholicism fully catholic as well as fully oriental. Dom Beauduin goes so far as to envisage the possibility of new developments in the Church, even in matters of doctrine, which would enable non-Catholics to grasp better, and consequently to accept more easily, the official presentation of its teaching, a presentation which is no doubt exact in itself, but which may still be incomplete, insufficient.[34]

The reader may perhaps think that we are straying outside our subject with these considerations on the ecumenism of Dom Beauduin. On the contrary, they are completely relevant. Our

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[33] *Ibid.*, pp.126-127.
[34] *Ibid.*, pp.133-135.

monk will soon be inserting his ecumenical ideas, without admitting it, into the Liturgical Movement; he will be working, with his successors even more than himself, to adapt our liturgy to the needs of the apostolate, or rather to the pressures of "church union." The reader will also have noticed how closely this language resembles that of Pope John XXIII and Vatican II. This is not accidental; in 1924 Dom Beauduin had just struck up a close friendship with Msgr. Roncalli, who had landed in the diplomatic corps after losing his professorial chair at the Lateran University. The future John XXIII was to be one of the first and most faithful sympathizers with Amay. When elected Pope, would he not declare openly that "the method of Dom Lambert Beauduin is the right one?"[35]

"The method of Dom Lambert Beauduin is the right one": this was not the opinion of Cardinal Merry del Val, formerly Secretary of State to St. Pius X, and now Prefect of the Holy Office. The "Monastery of Union" of Amay had founded a review with the significant title of *Irenicon*—the name of its editor was no less significant: "Duculot." This immoderately ecumenical review did not fail to give scandal. The great Cardinal Mercier, protector, no doubt unwary, of Dom Beauduin, had died in 1926. Amay was being shaken by grave internal difficulties.[36]

Pius XI was beginning to realize that he had slackened too much the reins on which St. Pius X had kept so tight a hand. Hence the clap of thunder, in the first days of 1928, of *Mortalium Animos*, a veritable chart of the true Catholic ecumenism. No one failed to see that it was indeed the "spirit of Amay" which was the target. A canonical visitation followed, early in 1928, giving a fairly favorable report.

Dom Beauduin felt that it was meant for him personally, much more than his work: so he resigned his office of prior. He retired first to Tancrémont, after a tour of the East. He was next summoned to Rome, during 1929, to appear before his former friend Msgr. d'Herbigny, who was still in the Pope's good graces. Dom Beauduin was given to understand that he would do well to give up residing in Belgium. His next abode was Strasbourg. In

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp.135-136.

[36] Some of its Catholic monks were going over to Orthodoxy.

the spring of 1932 there was a further inquiry in Rome; Dom Beauduin was ordered to have no further relations with Amay, and to retire for two years to a distant monastery: this exile was at Encalcat.

His retreat ended, Dom Beauduin was appointed chaplain to the Olivetan Oblates, who were then at Cormeilles-en-Parisis. There he contributed strongly to the corruption of the Olivetan community and of the future monks of Bec Hellouin, so adept in ecumenism with the Anglicans. Shortly before the war Dom Beauduin, now advanced in years, retired to Chalivoy, in Berry. But let Fr. Louis Bouyer describe for us candidly the more than strange activities of our "confounded monk."

> At Bourges he would come across an old archbishop, a distinguished exegete, who had not yet got over his surprise at having come through the Modernist period with so little harm. Not only did Dom Beauduin receive a brotherly welcome, but he became once more the "Missus Dominicus" who would take on those particularly delicate missions which authority does not quite know how to carry out itself, nor whom to entrust them to. A more distant prospect was that the archbishop would launch him into a ministry of retreats and recollections for priests, for which he would acquire a more and more ardent taste. His eventual success in this ministry was to lead to one of the most important movements of the post-war period: the liturgical and pastoral movement, which was to spread, after 1942, from the liturgical-pastoral Center at Neuilly and from its review *La Maison-Dieu*.[37]

But let us here take leave of Dom Lambert Beauduin, whom we shall meet again in our next chapter, working with the modernist Dominicans in the publishing house Editions du Cerf, for the purpose of inoculating the faithful with his ecumenical poison by means of the *Liturgical Pastorate*. Having started from the liturgy, the former Prior of Amay, now residing at Chevetogne, will return to it, but no longer to serve the liturgical cause, as he had done in 1909, but to serve towards the destruction of the Church.

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[37] Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin*, p.168. The name of this prelate, whose identity Fr. Bouyer so modestly conceals, is Msgr. Martin-Jerome Izart, archbishop of Bourges from 1916-1943.

"Ecumenical Movement" and "Liturgical Movement" are one and the same thing in the mind of Dom Beauduin.

With regard to the Belgian Liturgical Movement, which Dom Beauduin had practically abandoned since 1921, it was doing well, and remained faithful to the first impetus given by St. Pius X. The editing of missals and of liturgical works of great value continued during the years 1920-35. In 1920, Dom Gaspar Lefebvre published *Liturgia: Ses principes fondamentaux.*[38] This work may be considered to be the charter of the authentically Catholic Liturgical Movement.

> Its aim: to restore Christian society in Christ by making it, firstly, glorify God by the worthy and conscious exercise of the official cult which is due to Him; secondly, to sanctify itself by active participation in the liturgy which is, in the words of St. Pius X, the first and indispensable source of the true Christian spirit.[39]

We cannot but subscribe to such a program. What a pity it is that the German Liturgical Movement could not keep hold on such a good orientation!

Germany, Easter 1918: This was the date of the creation and diffusion among the educated public of the collection *Ecclesia Orans*, by the Abbot of Maria Laach, Dom Ildefons Herwegen. The Abbot's ambition was to recall the German people, crushed by the war, to liturgical piety. More modestly than Dom Beauduin, he spoke, not of a "Liturgical Movement," but of a "Liturgical Effort." He did not aim at capturing the masses, as did the Belgian movement, but at the formation of an elite recruited from the numerous visitors of the monasteries. What was the orientation of this "effort" of Maria Laach?

Dom Herwegen made no secret of it: he wished to free the liturgy from all the lumber with which the Middle Ages have obscured it. The Middle Ages had encumbered the liturgy with their fantastic interpretations, and with developments foreign to its nature: an excessive and one-sided insistence on the Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist, which paved the way to the Protestant rejec-

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[38] St. Andrew's Abbey, 1920.

[39] Dom Gaspar Lefebvre, *Ligurgia: Ses principes fondamentaux*, 4th ed. (St. Andrew's Abbey, 1929), p.206.

tion of the liturgy, and to its disfavor and neglect by so large a part of post-Tridentine Catholicism.[40]

Another idea of the Abbot was that this disastrous Middle Age turned away from an objective mode of piety towards a subjective kind. This is the basic theme of his book *Kirche und Seele* (Church and Soul), in which he describes the opposition between the piety of the Church and that of the soul as parallel to the opposition between traditional objectivity and modern subjectivism.

Here we have the twofold "mortal sin" of the German Liturgical Movement: an unbridled archaeologism which finds expression in a contempt not only for the Tridentine liturgy, but also for medieval liturgy, together with a tendency to form a "collectivist" piety. And we are still only in the years 1920-1925!

The name of Dom Herwegen has long been forgotten, but not that of Dom Odo Casel (1886-1948), a monk of the same monastery, Maria Laach, with his theory of the *Kultmysterium* (the mystery of Christian worship). Let us turn to Fr. Bouyer for an explanation of this:

> To summarize now the content of the mystery—it is the re-enactment in, by and for the Church of the Act of Our Lord which accomplished our salvation, that is, His Passion and Death in the fullness of their effects—the Resurrection, the communication of saving grace to mankind and the final consummation of all things. And, as we have said already, the central property of the liturgy and, therefore, the central fact to be understood about it, is the unique mode in which Christ's redeeming act is permanently renewed and partaken of by the Church. An understanding of this mode, which is entirely different from that of theatrical or imaginative representation or from any physically realistic repetition, is the very clue to the understanding of the whole liturgy which began to be lost during the Middle Ages. And it is this clue which the Baroque period had lost so completely that it kept in view only a shell of the liturgy—a shell which was so much the more externally adorned and built over as the reality inside tended to be forgotten.[41]

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[40] Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, p.18.
[41] *Ibid.*

We may sum up this long quotation in the words of Wolfgang Waldstein: "Dom Casel has delivered us from the blind alleys of the post-Tridentine theories of sacrifice."[42] To put it plainly, Dom Casel has liberated us from Session XXII of the Council of Trent on the Sacrifice of the Mass. This admitted precursor of the *Institutio Generalis* of the New Order of Mass is also gravely at fault for archaeologism: rejecting the Baroque period as well as the medieval period, he voices a passionate affection for the Patristic age in which alone the liturgy had a sense of "mystery." Translated into art, this "Caselian" archaeologism produced a particular style. After the American bombardment of Monte Cassino, the artistic embodiments of Maria Laach are no more, but its terrible doctrinal deviations have corrupted the German liturgical "effort."

Another famous name in this German "interbellum" is that of Romano Guardini. This Italian, transplanted as a child to Mainz, was one of the most brilliant academics of his time. Ordained priest in 1911, he taught from 1922 in the chair of Catholic philosophy at Berlin University. This secular priest was to play a great part in the German "effort," not as a rubricist or a liturgical historian, but as a poet considered by literary critics as "the master of psychological intuition." Guardini would work to "bring a modern intellect and feeling—so well does he know all its tremors, its flights and its failings—to the understanding and love of the liturgy."[43] The author's style is wonderfully fine and the success of his book *The Spirit of the Liturgy*[44] was impressive: 26,000 copies sold between 1918 and 1922. So far, so good, but—we should say without hesitation—Guardini's work has a taint of modernism. This purely intuitive procedure is redolent of immanentism: "We do not possess, we seek..." so he often wrote; "we cannot here state anything definite, anything absolutely assured and possessed, but only attempts, sometimes mere gropings and presentiments."[45]

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[42] *Hirtensorge und Liturgiereform* (Liechtenstein, 1977).

[43] Robert d'Harcourt's preface to the French translation of Guardini's *Vom Geist der Liturgie, L'esprit de la liturgie*, Collection *Le roseau d'or* (Plon, 1929).

[44] *Vom Geist der Liturgie, Ecclesia Orans*, vol.1 (Herder, 1918).

[45] Preface to *Auf dem Weg* and to *Liturgische Bildung*.

Count Robert d'Harcourt wrote justly:

> He (Guardini) collaborates more than he instructs. There is never anything peremptory, incisive, or professorial in his tone. Nor is there anything fixed or final....There is a fear of anything systematic, stabilized, or hardened. Everywhere there is the evident anxiety to leave thought with its flexibility, with the hesitations essential to his method of work, the horror of the massive....[46]

Such was Romano Guardini, bard and prophet of a "liturgical mentality." We shall soon judge from the facts, the tree by its fruits.

But before we look at the concrete results of the German liturgical "effort," let us turn to another of its star performers, Dom Pius Parsch. This Augustinian Canon of Klosterneuburg (Austria) will show himself from the start with a definitely reformist outlook; what is more, he will set on foot in the German-speaking countries a vast "Biblical Movement" which will be a profound influence on the Liturgical Movement.

But let us now listen to Dom Parsch himself innocently recounting his liturgical experiments: "About this time," he wrote,

> I heard of a *Missa Recitata* being celebrated among student groups. I resolved to celebrate, with members of my circle, the first community Mass. It was on Ascension Day, 1922. On the day before this, I had gathered my group at the chapel of St. Gertrude, which was to become the cradle of the popular liturgical movement, and I then explained the ceremonies and text of the sung Mass (we called it that time the Liturgical Mass). That moment saw the complete separation of spirits: many Catholics, those of the subjective spirit, separated themselves from our circle. This sung Mass was still quite primitive: the *Kyrie*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* were sung in German; Professor Goller had composed for us some fairly simple choral melodies. The responses, *Gloria,* and *Credo* were recited in choir by all present. The readings and prayers were said by the president. We made an offering, and even the kiss of peace was indicated by a hand-shaking. It was no doubt the first celebration of Mass in the spirit of popular liturgy in the German-speaking countries.

Such a story needs no comment. Dom Parsch continues:

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[46] Harcourt, Preface, p.32.

> Until then my activity was confined to the small circle of the biblical and liturgical community of Klosterneuburg. But St. Gertrude's convent is situated at the gates of Vienna, and so I strove to transplant my ideas into the capital city. There the ground was already prepared for the Bible and the liturgy....A Catholic revival was already commencing in Vienna. And my liturgical ideas found an echo there. This gave me the first ideas of a real missionary work for the liturgy.[47]

In the review *Bibel und Liturgie* Dom Parsch threw out among the faithful the most dangerous ideas on the relations between the word of God and the liturgy. Fr. Bouyer wrote:

> This widening of the scope of the liturgical movement is a fact of the very greatest significance in the history of its development, for the importance of this biblical renewal inside the liturgical movement goes far beyond the sphere of practical methods, and involves theological implications of the greatest value. From what has been said in a previous chapter, we can see how close is the interrelation between Revelation and the liturgy, or, more exactly, between the Divine Word and the congregational worship of the Church. To realize this interrelation and to grasp its full significance will prove to be one of the decisive factors in our attaining a true and renewed understanding of the nature of the Church itself. And such an understanding is certainly the supreme aim of the whole liturgical movement.[48]

The analysis of Fr. Bouyer, himself deeply engaged in the French movement after World War II, is very penetrating. The word of God, considered as the direct revelation of God in the midst of the assembly, is going to overthrow completely the conception of the Mass. The Mass of the Faithful will give way to the Mass of Catechumens. God will be present by His word much more than by His Eucharist. The faithful "assisting at Mass" will be transformed into an "Assembly of the People of God," a gathering of believers in whose midst breathes the Spirit. We are not far from contemporary Pentecostalism. Such is the new concept of the liturgy, the new concept of the Church, insinuated into people's minds by the "Biblico-Liturgical Movement" of Dom Parsch. And we are only in the years 1925-1930!

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[47] Dom Pius Parsch, *Le renouveau liturgique* (Casterman, 1950), p.12.
[48] Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, p.66.

All these heterodox or rather frankly heretical theories did not long remain in the sphere of pure ideas, but became the soul of a veritable liturgical revolution in the young Germany of the Nazis. At first it was an unfurling of dialogue Masses of a more or less fantastic pattern; then came the "German High Mass," a sort of *Missa Cantata* in which the celebrant sings his part in Latin, but instead of the Latin Proper and Ordinary the choir and the congregation sing German hymns. The youth movements took up the cudgels for the Liturgical Movement, and this ended in a multiplication of "experiments": altar facing the people, use of the vernacular, and so on.

The political context hastened the course of events. Johann Wagner wrote:

> Since 1936, the Church in Germany was progressively deprived, by the State and Party authorities, of its external field of action. The Church's activities, which are normally exercised on the borders of the properly spiritual domain, on the social plane, the region of sports, *etc.*, were now limited to one domain alone: the celebration of worship. Everybody threw themselves into this task with ardor, good will, and sometimes perhaps with a degree of infatuation. Abuses and exaggerations were not wanting.[49]

Liturgical abuses so frightening that they caused Dom Baumstark to say of Maria Laach: "I would not like to be alive on the day when the liturgical movement reaches its goal."[50]

At this period the rest of Europe was not yet under the influence of the German Liturgical Movement, and the "renewal of liturgical fervor" was taking place there without mishap. But in Germany things were going so far that a violent and salutary reaction broke out—a precursory sign, as we shall see, of the encyclical *Mediator Dei.*

To conclude this chapter: the period between the wars saw the growth of the most serious theological deviations of the Liturgical Movement. Dom Beauduin is dragging it on to the paths of a false ecumenism, Maria Laach is misleading it into archaeolo-

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[49] Johann Wagner, "Le mouvement liturgique en Allemagne," *La Maison-Dieu*, no.25 (Cerf, 1951).

[50] Quoted by Jungmann in *Tradition liturgique et problèmes actuels de pastorale* (Éditions Xavier Mappus, 1962).

gism, Dom Parsch is making common cause with a judaizing biblicalism. On the eve of the Second World War, the forces of Modernism hold the movement in their hands. As for Rome, which under St. Pius X had so effectively broken the onslaught of theological Modernism, did she not relax her vigilance too much in those years 1930-35, and particularly in the domain, then too little considered, of the liturgy?

CHAPTER 3

WORLD WAR II (1939-45)

The period between the world wars saw the development of serious theological deviation in the heart of the Liturgical Movement. Dom Beauduin led the movement along the paths of a false ecumenism, Dom Casel lost it in archeologism, and Dom Parsch linked his cause with a misguided "biblical" movement. We will find these characters working harder than ever at their work of "renewal" of the Church, which brought about its ruin, under the shadow of the war.

The trial of exile had led Dom Lambert Beauduin as far as Bourges. It was there, under the protection of Msgr. Filion, that he devoted himself to the ministry of "retreats," but a very particular kind of retreat, the forerunner of the refresher courses that we know so well. But let Fr. Louis Bouyer describe to us the atmosphere of these retreats: "I was soon to see him again," he writes of Dom Beauduin.

> This time he began by calling me "pastor," like a novel by André Gide; five minutes later he called me "Louis," and then he called me "*tu*" in the way they do in Liège. This second meeting was entirely his idea. He had invited me to join him in one of those impossible places that he had such a unique gift for discovering. It was a sort of rehabilitation house for clergy who had succumbed to drink or sensuality. He knew there (he had friends everywhere) one of the good fathers of this curious establishment. Sure that no-one could locate him there, he gave little retreats—in his own fashion—to priests of irreproachable character, save that they were, as he put it "in agreement with our ideas," ideas that were not then as well looked upon by Holy Church as they are now, since they have been firmly seated upon the See of Peter.[51]

Fr. Bouyer concludes his paragraph: "I came unexpectedly upon one of these intimate little orgies of liturgical ecumenism." Thus, during the war, Dom Beauduin already had a good number

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[51] Fr. Louis Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin, homme d'Église* (Casterman, 1964). N.B.: The author is referring here to Pope John XXIII.

of disciples "in agreement with his ideas." "His rather naughty retreats," as he called them himself, reached quite an audience of priests grouping themselves sometimes around Msgr. Filion, sometimes around Msgr. Harscouet, Bishop of Chartres, who usually chose his friends more carefully. Who were these priests? A large number came from Paris, grouped around Msgr. G. Chevrot.[52] Others came from the scouting milieu of Fr. Doncoeur, and others, perhaps the most dangerous, wore the white habit of the Dominicans.

There was already, therefore, in Paris quite a number of avant-garde clergy much occupied with Catholic Action who were strongly taken by Dom Beauduin's thoughts on liturgical ecumenism. This clergy grouped about Msgr. Chevrot, the influential curé of St. Francis Xavier, was also very involved with the Resistance and got to know numerous Communist party militants who had suddenly become patriots. The influence that the "Maquis" (French Resistance movement) had over a generation of young clergy was considerable, and in many cases it was far from beneficial. This whole evolution towards socialism took place during the episcopates of Cardinals Verdier and Suhard, whose dominant qualities were certainly neither vigilance nor lucidity.

The Society of Jesus did not fall behind the diocesan clergy. Already for several years, Fr. Doncoeur had been the animating spirit of a vast movement of Catholic scouts. Our reader will remember that in Germany the Liturgical Movement had been spread by youth movements. Fr. Doncoeur made many trips across the Rhine during the period between the wars. As early as 1923 "he learned at Rothenfels that the cause of the liturgical movement was henceforward linked to that of a 'youth movement.'"[53] From then on, for the scout-chaplain, the liturgy became a means of teaching and an incomparable method for educating the young; the cultural and theocentric aspects would become more and more blurred. But let us let Mademoiselle Baud speak:

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[52] Msgr. Chevrot, parish priest of St. Francis Xavier in Paris, a very famous preacher of the time (Notre Dame); he assuredly deserves the title of "liberal."

[53] Fr. Duployé, *Les origines du CPL, 1943-49* (Salvator, 1968), p.338.

> Games can also be an excellent preparation for worship, which itself does not appear very different from a game to the very small. Let us not be scandalized by this. The word "game" is not synonymous with entertainment in a child's language and particularly in the scouting world. The game is an action, absorbing only in as far as it is true. Now, official worship is eminently true. The child senses this. He finds himself at ease in this atmosphere of truth. He savors this solemn action which involves everything, body and soul, this collective and ordered action. He savors it like one of these great modern sports where modern youth finds its discipline and sometimes its mystique. But the faithful little heart knows that worship is more noble than sport. Worship is the Great Game, the Sacred Game, which is played for the Captain of Captains....In the troops Mass is generally "dialogued" by the whole congregation, some even have an Offertory procession. The cadets that Fr. Doncoeur leads backpacking every summer along the highways of France also have the dialogue Mass. Grouped around the altar they make the responses to the liturgical prayers, at the Offertory they make an Offertory procession with the hosts which will be consecrated for them.[54]

Fr. Duployé admitted later of Fr. Doncoeur: "Without the means of the scouts of France which provided him with a ground for experimentation, which he was able to use, he would not have been the liturgical creator that he was."[55] It is therefore not surprising that we find a number of scout chaplains at Dom Beauduin's "retreats."

Neither are we surprised to rub shoulders there with some Dominicans who have perjured their anti-modernist oath. There they mix well with the Jesuits. A great fraternity unites them, since they have grouped around the new Prophet, Jacques Maritain, against those that the great Dom Besse—a true apostle of liturgical renewal—would call "the Catholics of the right."[56] Fathers Congar and Chenu, O.P., revealed the advanced state of putrefaction of the Dominican Order and in particular of Saulchoir

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[54] Fr. Aigrain, ed., *Liturgia* (Bloud et Gay, 1930), pp.1000-1.

[55] Duployé, *Les origines du CPL*, p.338.

[56] Collaborating on "*Pourquoi Rome a parlé*" (Spes, 1927) were the Jesuits Doncoeur and Lallement, the Dominicans Bernadot and Lajeunie, not forgetting Fr. Maquart and the inevitable Jacques Maritain.

in the years 1930-40.[57] Let us quote Paul Raynal, who sums up the evolution of the Order very well:

> After the crisis of 1928, the traditional elements at the heart of the Order were reduced to silence, and a man of great talent, Fr. Chenu, was able freely to lay hold of the minds of the young brothers and infect them with his progressive virus. In this way, around the year 1935, a whole human field was ready for recruiting the teams necessary for the work of diversion. The most important of these works which served as a root for the others was the creation of the Cerf publishing house at Juvisy by Fr. Bernadot. There, the progressive weekly *Sept* was born, and its successor *Temps présent.*[58]

Cerf publishing house was founded in 1932; their mouthpiece was *La vie intellectuelle. Sept* dated from 1934; its clearly Marxist tendency led to its disappearance in August 1937, but it "rose from the ashes" under the name of *Temps présent.* All these intellectual revolutions were not without repercussions in the domain of the liturgy: before the war Fr. Maydieu, O.P., celebrated a new-style Mass at Notre Dame for the Friends of *Sept.* For this Mass the priest faced the people and it was conducted in French. Fr. Duployé followed all this with a passionate lucidity.

Thus, the French modernist forces took charge of the Liturgical Movement. There is nothing surprising in that all this "intelligentsia" was to be found in association with Dom Beauduin. The war would be the catalyst which would make the Liturgical-Pastorate Center (*Centre de Pastorale Liturgique*: CPL) emerge from this cultural melting pot.

Let us quickly retrace the stages of the foundation of the CPL. In 1941, Fr. Maydieu published a Liturgical Album in conjunction with *Temps présent* and the J.A.C. (*Jeunesse Agricole Chrétienne*, Young Christian Farmers). In June 1941, Fr. Boisselot, director of the Cerf publishing house, launched *Fêtes et saisons* (feasts and seasons). In 1942, the publishing house Éditions de l'Abeille at Lyons, located in the free zone, launched *La Clar-*

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[57] Fr. Yves Congar, *Une vie pour la vérité*, interview with J. Puyo (Centurion, 1975). Fr. M.-D. Chenu, *Un théologien en liberté*, interview with J. Duquesne (Centurion, 1975). Fr. Barbara made an excellent review of these in "Deux modernistes témoins de leur temps," in *Forts dans la foi*, no.53.

[58] Paul Raynal, *Liturgie et qualité dans la défense de la Tradition catholique*, p.23

té-Dieu (Light of God) which would be the first mouthpiece of the CPL in its embryonic state. Still in the free zone, Fr. Duployé, the driving force behind all this activity, united with Fr. Roguet, whose pre-war years had been devoted to religious broadcasting. Fr. Roguet was then translating the works of Dom Vonier, and published them at the same Éditions de l'Abeille. These works considerably influenced liturgical archaeology. It was then that the term "People of God" appeared, a Jewish concept and not Christian, which so pleased all these neo-liturgists. The reader will remember Dom Parsch and his "Word of God" (*Parole de Dieu*). It is from the union of the "people of God" and the "Word of God" that the neo-Judaizing liturgy of recent years has emerged.[59]

During this time Dom Beauduin increased the number of his "priests' retreats": at La Pierre-qui-vire (1936), at Clamart (1937), at Paray-le-Monial (1938). He was frequently to be found at Thieulin in the diocese of his friend the Bishop of Chartres.

> A new priests' retreat given by him at Clamart in 1942 produced such an impression on its participants that, so as to prolong its effects, Msgr. Chevrot organized periodical reunions in the course of which there were discussions on the spirit of the liturgy and the liturgical pastorate. This group of priests constituted one of the nuclei of the Center at its foundation, besides others who, coming from other horizons, had perhaps different conceptions of the liturgy. At the least, by bringing to the Dominican project of a Center of Liturgical Pastorate his smiling and enthusiastic patronage, Dom Beauduin also forthwith provided it with adherents who were already convinced and experienced.[60]

The meeting for the foundation of the Center of Liturgical Pastorate was held at the Cerf publishing house. Dom Beauduin, the aged prophet, now seventy, presided over the reunion. This day was his triumph. There he saw the consecration of the ideas for which he had fought for nearly thirty years. The primacy of the pastorate over divine worship was now official.

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[59] Dom Vonier, *Le Peuple de Dieu*, trans. Fr. Roguet (Lyons: Éd. de l'Abeille, 1943).

[60] A. G. Martimort, "Dom Lambert Beauduin et le CPL," *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 1959.

Could one not say, taking up St. Pius X's expression, that the CPL was the "cesspool of all (anti-liturgical) heresies"? In any case, it is certain that all the deviations of the liturgical movement were united in its heart: the inversion of the ratio of worship to pastorate, archaeologism, contempt for "rubricism," the primacy of the Word of God, an activist conception of participation, collectivism in liturgical assemblies, *etc.*

Let us remember the names of the principal collaborators of the CPL at this time: the Reverend Fathers Duployé, Roguet, Chenu, Chery, and Maydieu, all from the Order of Preachers; Dom Beauduin, O.S.B., of course; the Jesuits Doncoeur and Danielou; not forgetting Fr. Louis Bouyer of the (French) Oratory, and Fr. A. G. Martimort of Toulouse. The most conservative elements at these assemblies were the Very Reverend Fr. Dom Bernard Capelle and Dom Botte, both from Maredsous.[61] The Benedictine monastery of Vanves, near Paris, became the habitual venue for the meetings of the association. In October 1945, the series *Lex Orandi* was created, under which heading the Cerf publishing house was to publish a number of liturgical works to which we shall refer again later. Earlier, in January 1945, the first issue of *La Maison-Dieu* (The House of God) had appeared, the official mouth-piece of the CPL. Dom Beauduin wrote the editorial: we will study it in our next chapter. Let us content ourselves now by giving its title, which is moreover a whole syllabus: "Practical Norms for Liturgical Reforms."[62]

We conclude with a report from Fr. Chenu, O.P., addressed to the CPL in March 1945: "It is true that I like what you are doing, as you say; Fr. Congar and I recognize and will recognize in the future the beautiful fruit which will ripen on the seedlings which have sprouted so vigorously in 1935."[63]

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[61] Dom Botte was then energetically upholding the essential difference between the common and ministerial priesthood: these notions were hotly contested by other members of the CPL from its beginnings Cf. *Le mouvement liturgique* by Dom Botte, p.64. "In 1943," writes Dom Botte, "I was invited to an editorial meeting of *La Maison-Dieu.* It was suggested that there should be an issue on the priesthood of the faithful. When I was asked for my opinion, I gave it quite simply. I had the impression that I was a heretic, uttering blasphemies in the midst of the orthodox priests."

[62] *La Maison-Dieu*, no.1 (January 1945).

[63] *Les origines du CPL*, p.288.

What were the ecclesiastical authorities doing at this period? If the bishops did not bless it, they knew nothing about it. The terrible war of 1939-45 was pre-occupying the Holy See too much for it to be able to act. Besides, was it informed? In any case, the silence of the French episcopate makes us all the better appreciate the courageous stand taken by Msgr. Gröber in Germany.

In Germany, conflict broke out between the conservatives and the movement. As we have already said, the German clergy, confined to the churches and the sacristies by the Nazis, indulged in a premature and real "liturgical revolution." A wave of protest arose in all Catholic circles. The controversy, at first verbal, was repeated in two works: *Irrwege und Umwege der Frömmigkeit* (errors and deviations of piety) by Max Kassipe, and *Sentire cum Ecclesia* (to feel with the Church) by Doerner. These books, which were openly hostile to the German Liturgical Movement, pushed the leaders of the movement to put their affairs in order. Rome would not tolerate disorder, sanctions were imminent. Something had to be done quickly to avoid condemnation from Rome. A private assembly, held at Fulda in August 1939, appointed as leader of the movement Bishop Landesdorfer, O.S.B., of Passau. His assistants were Fr. Jungmann and Romano Guardini.

The directing committee did not waste its time. The first necessity was to gain control of the German episcopate. Their moves were skilful: "The controversy was going from bad to worse. The German episcopate resolved at the Bishops' Assembly at Fulda in August 1940 to take liturgical affairs in hand themselves. In charge of liturgical questions, the assembly appointed, at the instigation of Msgr. Landesdorfer, Msgr. Stohr from Mayence [the intimate friend of Guardini], an episcopal protector of youth [again one sees youth and liturgy side by side]. The assembly also appointed Msgr. Landesdorfer of Passau himself."[64] Of course, this "liturgical group" surrounded itself with "expert" specialists and "*periti*" who were none other than the leading lights of the German movement. Therefore, in one year, the trick had been

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[64] *La Maison-Dieu*, no.25 (1951); Wagner, *Le mouvement liturgique en Allemagne.*

played, "the Trojan horse had entered the city": the German Episcopal Assembly was in the hands of the "Renewal."

This was without taking into account the courage and the energy of a great bishop, Msgr. Gröber, Archbishop of Freibourg-im-Breisgau. In fact, in the middle of January 1943, this prelate addressed to his colleagues in Germany (in the "Greater Germany" that followed the Anschluss) a long letter written in a grave tone, that set out in seventeen points the principal causes of anxiety which he had about the youth movements. Certain of these grievances bore upon general theology or ecclesiology. We will only include here the passages of his letter which pertain to the liturgy. [65]

Point 1: The notorious spiritual schism among the clergy of Greater Germany, some being partisans of the movement and others being opposed to it.

Point 5: "What disturbs me is the radical and unjustified critique of all that has been accepted until now and all that has appeared in the course of history, and at the same time the practical, audacious, and brutal return to the practices and the norms of ancient periods of Church history, while openly declaring that in the meantime there has been an 'evolution which is necessarily a deviation.'"

Msgr. Gröber is here most certainly alluding to the archaeologism of Maria Laach. Let us note in passing that Pius XII took up this point in particular in *Mediator Dei.*

Point 11: Grave errors concerning the Mystical Body of Christ. Here we note again that Pius XII echoed the Archbishop of Freibourg in his encyclical *Mystici Corporis* of June 29, 1943.

Point 13: There is excessive emphasis on the common priesthood to the detriment of the ministerial priesthood. (This was going on, even then. Msgr. Gröber indeed saw clearly.)

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[65] Cf. Froger, "L'encyclique *Mediator Dei* sur la liturgie," pp.56-75.

Point 14: Particular insistence on the idea of "sacrifice-meal" and "meal-sacrifice." Thus, in the middle of the war, the Lutheran theology of the *Institutio Generalis* of the *Novus Ordo Missae* was already to be found in a diffuse state in the German Liturgical Movement.

Point 15: The excessive insistence on the liturgy. It is claimed that only the liturgy can provide a true pastorate and earlier forms of apostolate are ridiculed. At the same time the rubrics are treated in a most cavalier fashion and all kinds of eccentricities are permitted.

Point 16: Efforts to make the dialogue Mass obligatory.

Our reader will remember that the dialogue Mass had been from the start one of the pet subjects of the Liturgical Movement. In 1922, Pope Pius XI gave his authorization for it, provided it had the permission of the local Ordinary. In 1923, Dom Gaspar Lefebvre published an apologia for the dialogue Mass in the learned review *La vie spirituelle.* In itself the dialogue Mass is not a bad thing; it is one way of helping the faithful to participate in the sacred action. But it is only a means, and it must not be imposed as a universal norm. Monsignor Gröber wrote:

> I have not the slightest objection to dialogue Masses as such, so long as their frequency is limited....They may be tried, but one must not hope for too much. Even so, I will always consider the dialogue Mass of marginal importance, and as something of momentary interest that soon the laws of change and of reaction will moderate and will cause to go out of fashion.

This wise bishop was most worried by the discovery "that the neo-liturgists saw in the dialogue Mass the expression of their ideas about the common priesthood. They also saw a method for insisting on the rights of lay people to cooperate in the Sacrifice of the Mass." This "activist" participation upheld by the idea of the general priesthood was what so worried the Archbishop of Freibourg. Here again Pius XII echoed this worry in *Mediator Dei*, condemning the new theology of the priesthood and imposing limits on the dialogue Mass.[66] We will analyze *Mediator Dei* in our next chapter.

Point 17: The strong tendency not only to translate into German more than one prayer during the administration of the sacraments, but also to anticipate the desires of the people by introducing the German language into the Mass itself despite the "*non expedire*" of the Council of Trent (Session XII, c.8, can.9).

The Archbishop of Freibourg concluded his letter in these moving terms:

> I submit all these concerns to the Venerable Episcopate in order to acquit myself of my responsibility *pro parte mea*.... I could lengthen this list of things which worry me by adding more than one equally problematic point, points which seem to me contrary to Catholic doctrine. Can we remain silent, we bishops of greater Germany, and Rome?

Rome acted very quickly. By a letter from Cardinal Bertram, Archbishop of Breslau, to the members of the Episcopal Conference at Fulda,[67] the Holy See made known its deep concern about the German Liturgical Movement, its desire to receive information on this subject, an appeal for vigilance by the Ordinaries, the forbidding of any discussion on the subject, and finally its readiness to examine with kindness certain privileges which might be helpful for the good of souls. The Holy See was therefore caught up in the affair. A papal intervention was to be expected.

In the face of this danger to the movement, the German Episcopate energetically supported the neo-liturgists. On February 24, Cardinal Innitzer replied to Msgr. Gröber that the situation in Germany and Austria was not as worrisome as he implied; the existence of diverging doctrinal currents was nothing extraordinary. He agreed to allow the theologians to freely continue their research: an intervention of the Magisterium would run the risk of discouraging the enthusiasm of the liturgists.[68]

However, this intervention which was so feared did take place. It was made on two separate occasions, by the encyclicals *Mystici Corporis* and *Mediator Dei.* Pius XII's vigorous "applying

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[66] *Mediator Dei,* November 26, 1947.

[67] Letter dated Jan. 15, 1943, quoted by Dom Froger, "L'encyclique *Mediator Dei.*"

[68] *La Maison Dieu*, no.7, pp.108-114.

the brakes" would certainly have saved the situation, if at the same time the Secretariat of State had not encouraged the German movement by the concession of special privileges. Indeed, in April 1943, Cardinal Bertram sent a memorandum to the Holy Father in the name of all the other bishops. The memorandum was a universal and ardent defense of the Liturgical Movement. It judges that an entirely Latin liturgy is little fitted to encourage the participation of the faithful. It defends the "People's Mass," the "Sung People's Mass," and the High Mass in German. The Cardinal profits from the occasion to propose some reforms: prolonging beyond war time the mitigation of the Eucharistic fast, a new Latin translation of the Psalter, the enrichment of the Ritual by inserting passages of sacred Scripture, the transferring of the Maundy Thursday and the Good Friday ceremonies to the evening.[69]

Cardinal Maglione, Secretary of State,[70] replied on December 24, 1943. In his reply, writes Ferdinand Kolbe, critical observations are not lacking, it is true, but the decision on the manner of celebrating the People's Mass and the Sung People's Mass is left to the discretion of the bishops, and the High Mass in German is expressly permitted. The letter ensured the later development of the celebration of the Mass in line with the Liturgical Movement under the bishops' protection.[71] The harm was done, and there would no longer be any way to stem the tide. In vain would Pius XII make all the necessary doctrinal clarifications; the revolution would continue to gain ground. Did the Secretariat of State know that the bishops of the German Liturgical Commission, to whom it gave the responsibility for the form of the celebration of Mass, were amongst the most advanced members of the movement? Was Pius XII aware of Cardinal Maglione's actions? There are so many questions which are unanswerable. But what is certain is that here we see the first victories of the deviated Liturgical Movement over the Roman authorities. As we write this (in 1980), we now know just where this long series of retreats by Rome has led,

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[69] *Liturgisches Jahrbuch,* 1953, pp.108ff., article by J.Wagner.

[70] Cardinal Maglione died in 1944 and was replaced by two pro-secretaries: Msgr. Tardini for Extraordinary Affairs, and Msgr. Montini for Ordinary Affairs.

[71] Ferdinand Kolbe, "Allemagne," *La Maison-Dieu*, no.74 (1963).

and how much they darkened the history of the Church in the second half of the twentieth century.

Thus, at the end of World War II, the Liturgical Movement had considerably strengthened its position. It had brought about a powerful vehicle of liturgical subversion: the Center of Liturgical Pastorate. And above all, it had perfected its tactics for war: win over the bishops to its cause and thus to act legally, and have its requests presented to the Holy See by the bishops, on the pretext of pastoral advantages. All that remained to be done was for Dom Beauduin to set all this out in the editorial of the first issue of *La Maison-Dieu*, in January 1945: "Practical Norms for Liturgical Reforms."

CHAPTER 4

THE POST-WAR PERIOD (1945-50)

The disturbed years of the Second World War had allowed the leaders of the movement to determine their strategy. The Center for Liturgical Pastorate came into being. The French and German episcopates were circumvented. Rome was hesitant... The post-war years were to be decisive for the future of the Liturgical Movement.

DOM ROUSSEAU TAKES HIS BEARINGS

In 1945, a Benedictine of Chevetogne,[72] Dom Olivier Rousseau, published in the Cerf collection a *History of the Liturgical Movement.* This monk, a brilliant disciple of Dom Lambert Beauduin, makes in this book a keen analysis of the historical origins of the movement. It is the conclusion of his work, however, which will fix our attention. Dom Rousseau utters here a cry of alarm.

> The Church is a living thing, the past lives on in her and the moderns sometimes forget it, but the present lives in her, too. We may say more: the past does not live in her without the present, nor the present without the past. But we may certainly say that if it is a misconception of the Church to "make her commence" at some later period of her history, to make her cease at any moment is to misconceive her just as much. That such a tendency, in the case of Dom Guéranger, has sometimes been excessive, need not surprise us unduly in a man of his power. His ultramontanism, his conservatism, even his dogmaticism and his taste for battle are only the defects of his qualities. He needed to have this stamp of character in order to give his movement an inflexible bone-structure. It is on this structure that his disciples came to rely, especially those who, sharing his allegiance to a monastic Order, propagated his teaching and his ideas. They did this with entire confidence and an absolute persuasion that they

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[72] Chevetogne, the ecumenical monastery of Dom Beauduin, first situated at Amay.

> were passing on to others nothing but the purest spirit of the Church.

And Dom Olivier Rousseau goes on to conclude, in the last words of his book:

> This gives us to understand how important it is for the future that the liturgical movement begun by him, while closely following the evolution of ideas and participating in it as much as possible, should remain faithful to this primordial Catholic sense without which it is sooner or later faced with failure.[73]

The reader will pardon us this over-long quotation—we could not omit anything so remarkable. Dom Rousseau has seen the truth, and we can only regret that he has not seen it more forcefully. The Liturgical Movement is losing, if it has not already lost, the Catholic sense of the Church. For a Catholic, the Church is the sole Ark of Salvation; a divine society, she remains living throughout the centuries, always pure, stainless and unwrinkled, whose dogma[74] and whose liturgy are subject to a "homogeneous development." This fundamental truth has found an intrepid defender in Dom Guéranger, with his *Institutions liturgiques*. It is in the name of this principle that he fought against the various manifestations of the "anti-liturgical heresy." For Dom Guéranger, as for every Catholic, the liturgy is the child of the Church, assisted by the Holy Ghost all along her way on earth. In virtue of this, the Tridentine and post-Tridentine liturgy is just as venerable as that of the Middle Ages or of the Patristic period.

Of all this the leaders of the Liturgical Movement have no longer any understanding. For them, the liturgy of the "Baroque epoch," or of the Middle Ages, are dead liturgies. The "Spirit" no longer breathes in them as in the time of the Apostles and the early Fathers. It is a question of returning at all costs to this primitive liturgy which alone can be the soul of a real renewal, a real "uplifting" of the Church. [75]

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[73] Dom O. Rousseau, *Histoire du mouvement liturgigue* (Cerf, 1945), pp.231-232.

[74] Cf. Marin Sola, O.P., *L'évolution homogène du dogma catholique*, 2 vols. (Fribourg, Switzerland: Éd. S. Paul, 1924).

[75] Cf. Card. Suhard's pastoral letter *Essor ou declin de l'Eglise* (1947).

DOM BEAUDUIN PREACHES LITURGICAL REFORM

Dom Rousseau had scarcely put down his pen when Dom Lambert Beauduin, using all his authority as the "old prophet," stifled his too vigilant disciple's cry of alarm. In fact, in January 1945 Dom Beauduin was writing the editorial of the first issue of *La Maison-Dieu*, the official organ of the CPL. Its title is a whole program: "Practical Norms for Liturgical Reforms."[76] We shall now analyze in detail this article, which certainly forms the charter of the deviated Liturgical Movement. We shall see at what point Dom Beauduin lost that "primordial Catholic sense" which Dom Rousseau had just been recalling. This editorial actually contains a method of subversion to be adopted in the Church: we do not understand—or rather we understand only too well—how such a piece of writing could be printed "*cum permissu superiorum.*"

First of all, Dom Beauduin sets out the purpose of the CPL. He does it in an artful way, by quoting the famous saying of St. Pius X: "We wish to give the liturgy its full value, and to bring together, not a mere elite, but the faithful, all the faithful, all the people of God, to this authentic source of Christian life."[77] Next, our author makes a twofold observation: on the one side, the present-day impoverishment of the liturgy (using even the blasphemous expression "mummified liturgy"), and on the other, the evangelical dynamism of antiquity. In 1909, Dom Beauduin would have concluded from this that we should seek to explain the rites, to make them live, but not without respect for them. In 1945, the same monk deduced the absolute necessity of a reform. "Must we not free ourselves," he wrote, "from the niggardly discipline of present liturgical rules and give back to the sacramental signs and Christian institutions all their power and efficacity?"

But Dom Beauduin was aware that the Church (at that time!) did not tolerate anarchy and precocious experiments: he had himself been in trouble with the Roman authorities on the occasion of his ecumenical adventures, and above all things he did not want a repetition in France of the serious troubles experienced in Germany. For that reason he rightly insisted on the following points:

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[76] *La Maison-Dieu*, no.1 (Jan. 1945), pp.9-22.

[77] *Tra le Sollecitudini*, Nov. 22, 1903.

1) the liturgy belongs to the Church; *2)* the Holy See, since the Council of Trent, reserves to itself the right of legislation in the field of liturgy; *3)* liturgical law, by an exceptional provision, is exempted from the play of legitimate custom, which otherwise can have the effect of abrogating a law and rendering licit something formally illicit.

The Liturgical Movement, therefore, would not be able to attack the Church's liturgy directly; it would be enabled to destroy it only by means of a well studied method of subversion. But let our monk speak for himself, as a past master in the art of ecclesiastical revolution. He wrote:

> If the Holy See is rightfully intent on maintaining liturgical observances whole and entire, and very severe on any enterprise or initiative contrary to its laws, it shows itself on the other hand very comprehensive and very favorable towards any efforts made within the letter of the existing laws, and encourages unreservedly those historical studies which investigate the origin and evolution of our rites. The Holy See therefore wishes that its discipline should be studied by all historical methods. So the CPL can do much to realize this item of its program. Its discipline, its theology, its understanding of sacred Scripture benefit much from all the results of scientific progress. The same will be true in the field of liturgical reform on three conditions to be fulfilled by our movement.

As a synthetic summary, we shall now quote this text, unparalleled in its cynicism:

> It will be necessary to proceed hierarchically: not to take any initiative in practice other than what is at present legitimate, but to prepare for the future by fostering a desire and love for all the riches contained in the ancient liturgy; to condition people's minds, for Rome's overmastering fear is scandal among the faithful. We must proceed methodically, by circulating popular but serious works (*e.g.*, on the offices of Holy Week, the Easter Vigil, concelebration). We must also stress the moral and practical aspects, such as frequent Communion, the Eucharistic fast, the times of Mass: the Church is not afraid to modify her discipline for the good of her children.

The reader will now understand why the neo-liturgists threw themselves with such zeal into the history of the liturgy—a history, moreover, conceived in a highly rationalistic manner, regard-

less of the sacred character of the liturgy. The Jungmanns, the Bouyers, and other Roguets of this period multiplied works of this kind. The formation of the series *Lex Orandi* at the Cerf publishing house is one example among others of the ferment of these literary productions. The neo-liturgists strove thereby to influence the Historical Section of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, created by Pope Pius XI in 1930. This cunning use of indirect pressure was not slow to bear its poisonous fruit, as we shall soon see.

Dom Lambert Beauduin went on to expound another kind of indirect pressure. He noted that the Roman Church is animated by a strongly hierarchical spirit. In order to avoid a collision with this hierarchy he would have his desires and petitions presented through the bishops. "We must," he writes, "be able to count on convinced and active sympathies." Our monk had here made full use of his gifts of seduction. "He had friends everywhere," Fr. Bouyer tells us. His most influential friends at that period were their Lordships Roncalli, Suhard, Harscouet, Richaud, and the Rev. Fr. Dom Capelle. Dom Beauduin next put the final touch to his program of liturgical subversion.

> The CPL must take pains to make its efforts known and appreciated by the consultants of the Sacred Congregation, the members of the Liturgical Academy, *etc.* If it must never allow itself to anticipate the desires of competent authorities, it has the right and duty of making known to these the desiderata and the prudent and reasonable wishes of the most zealous pastors and faithful laity, in particular those of the Catholic Action.

Let us now consider how this manifesto was put into practice during the years immediately following the war.

THE CPL CARRIES OUT THE PROGRAM OF DOM LAMBERT BEAUDUIN

In July 1945, there met at Ligugé the nucleus of a team under the protection of the Father Abbot Dom Basset: in September 1945, the first congress was held at Saint-Flour, thanks to the support of Bishop Pinson and that of Cardinal Gerlier. April and May 1946 saw the gatherings at Vanves, conducted by Fr. Martimort, on the Mass and its catechesis.[78] It was at these meetings

that Cardinal Suhard avowed that "from various sides we are at present being solicited to obtain concessions in the matter of liturgical discipline." At that time it was a question of evening Mass and the introduction of the vernacular in the administration of the Sacraments. The reader will remember that in Germany, at the same moment, the same requests were being presented to Rome by Cardinal Bertram. A mere coincidence? Common pastoral needs, perhaps, but was it not rather the carrying out of Dom Lambert's tactics: the vicarious presentation by the bishops to Rome of the demands for the subversion of the liturgy, under cover of pastoral necessity? For our part, we shall decide for the latter hypothesis while admitting the existence of certain pastoral needs.

During the year 1946 the CPL was working actively in Alsace; it was here that the definite coalition was made between the "Liturgical Effort" of Germany and the Liturgical Movement of France. We may note in passing an admission of Fr. Duployé: "We also made contact with the representatives of the various Christian churches. Dom Beauduin taught us, now and always, not to dissociate ecumenism from the liturgy."[79] At this same time, the movement was finding its way into the seminaries, notably that of the Mission de France; at Saulchoir, Fr. Roguet was teaching liturgy. Regional sessions were being organized, notably at Rodez, in which 120 priests took part.

The CPL had set off a gigantic revolution which it could no longer control. Fr. Duployé admits:

> The risks are there....We are an advanced guard in the French clergy. We do not speak the same language as the majority of parish priests, and if most of the bishops follow our effort with sympathy we must not hide from ourselves the fact that this sympathy, the sincerity of which I do not doubt, can very well

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[78] Dom Botte states this in his *Mouvement liturgique*, p.102. "To take initiatives without the Congregation's approval," he writes "would be to provoke a movement of restraint. One then adopts a middle course: to prepare privately certain projects of reform, and have them presented to Rome by the episcopates of various countries. But for that purpose it would be necessary not to work in scattered parties, but to concentrate the efforts of different working groups. Hence the origin of the international reunions."

[79] Fr. Duployé, *Les origines du CPL*, p.308.

> exist with an almost complete ignorance of the principles which guide us....Between this vanguard and the great mass of the French clergy we must make use of a tactic very well exploited by Fr. Doncoeur, that is, to beware of creating gaps. The gaps we fear will be produced if we do not have recourse to an economical and pedagogical exposition of the truth discovered by us...we must know how to keep silence and to wait....At Ligugé or at Vanves it was only a question of one stage of our work....But it would be terribly dangerous, and simply stupid, to throw these problems, just as we find them, at the heads of the French clergy. All we can do, publicly, is to offer them good bread, well baked. From the very beginning of our effort, we have been speaking of liturgical adaptation and evolution. I sometimes ask myself whether we are not dupes of these words....We are travelling in a vehicle set in motion at full speed. Are we capable of steering it? I confess to you, finally, my weariness and my fears.[80]

Faced by this excessive acceleration of the movement, Dom Beauduin was frightened....We witness here the first phenomena of "permanent excesses," a feature of all revolutions: yesterday's managers are overtaken by today's agitators, the first revolutionaries begin to look like reactionaries, the incendiaries begin to cry "Fire!" In fact, Fr. Bouyer remarks of Dom Lambert Beauduin: "I can hardly, however, conceal the fact that he was not at all pleased with everything in the new movement. The sudden craze for 'para-liturgies,' so rapidly promoted from being a liturgy of beginnings to being a pretended liturgy of the future—a future all too ready to cast off its traditional past—did not appeal to him at all."[81] These internal tensions were to end, in July 1946, by the CPL's asserting its independence of the Cerf publications. From that time Fr. Martimort assumed a growing influence at the heart of the organization and, little by little, Fr. Duployé went into retirement. The revolution advanced and became ever more radical.

Finally to be noted is a session held at Thieulin, near Chartres. Forty religious superiors and seminary rectors were assembled there under the chairmanship of Msgr. Harscouet. The speakers were Fr. Perrot, Rector of the Seminary of the Mission de France, Fr. Regamey of L'Art Sacré, Abbé Martimort, the Rever-

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[80] *Ibid.*, pp.310-312.

[81] Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin,* pp.178-179.

end Fathers Duployé and Congar, and of course the inevitable Dom Beauduin. The spirit of this reunion must have been extremely subversive, for Fr. Duployé makes the following disclosure:

> Some days before the reunion at Thieulin, I had a visit from an Italian Lazarist, Fr. Bugnini, who had asked me to obtain an invitation for him. The Father listened very attentively, without saying a word, for four days. During our return journey to Paris, as the train was passing along the Swiss Lake at Versailles, he said to me: "I admire what you are doing, but the greatest service I can render you is never to say a word in Rome about all that I have just heard." For the greater good of the Second Vatican Council, at which he was one of the most intelligent workers, Fr. Bugnini, happily, was not going to keep his word.[82]

This revealing text shows us one of the first appearances of the "gravedigger of the Mass," a revolutionary more clever than the others, he who killed the Catholic liturgy before disappearing from the official scene. So it was at this date that the "Counter-Church" completely pervaded the Liturgical Movement. Until then it had been occupied by the modernist and ecumenical forces: after the war it was rotten enough for Freemasonry to take direct control of the reins: Satan got into the Trojan Horse.

POPE PIUS XII AND THE ENCYCLICAL *MEDIATOR DEI*

We have already recorded the equivocations of the Secretariat of State before the demands of the German "Liturgical Effort." Pope Pius XII was betrayed and misinformed. His exceptional genius, however, and his great qualities as Pastor caused him to take some energetic measures to try and check the "anti-liturgical heresy." The Pope had been impressed by Msgr. Gröber's pastoral letter. He was to reply to the anxiety of the Bishop of Freiburg-im-Breisgau by two encyclicals addressed to the universal Church: these were *Mystici Corporis* of June 29, 1943, and *Mediator Dei* of November 20, 1947.

The encyclical *Mediator Dei*, one of the longest ever to have issued from the Pontifical Chancellery, is without doubt one of

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[82] Duployé, *Les origines du CPL*, p.308, note.

the finest teachings of Pope Pius XII. With extraordinary discernment and ability the Pope is prepared to keep all that is good in the Liturgical Movement, while forcefully condemning its deviations. We shall summarize this unique document, complying entirely with his judgment, but regretting that it was not accompanied by concrete measures and precise sanctions against the liturgical revolutionaries.

In the introduction to his encyclical, the Pope remarks that the Catholic priesthood continues the action of Christ the Redeemer (§§1-2).[83] He then praises the renewal of fervor for the liturgy which began at the turn of the century, calling to zeal those who still remain asleep, but above all rebuking the progressive elements of the movement. The Pope, not without preoccupation and anxiety, writes: "We observe, that certain people are too fond of novelty and go astray from the paths of sound doctrine and prudence...they sully this sacred cause with errors, errors which affect the Catholic faith and ascetical teaching" (§8).

The encyclical is next divided into four parts: *1)* Nature of the Liturgy, *2)* Eucharistic Worship, *3)* the Divine Office, and *4)* Pastoral Directives. The part which deals with the nature of the liturgy (§§11-69) is an admirable synthesis of doctrine, containing the profoundest definition of the liturgy: "the entire public worship of the Mystical Body of Christ, that is, of the Head and His members." At the end of this part of the encyclical Pope Pius XII once more condemns rash innovations: "Nevertheless we must condemn the utter recklessness of those who deliberately introduce new liturgical customs or try to revive obsolete rites which conflict with the laws and rubrics at present in force." These paragraphs 65 and 66 are a veritable condemnation of "archaeologism": "For it would be a dereliction of the right path to want to restore to the altar its primitive form of a table; to want to eliminate black from the liturgical colours, or to remove holy images and statues from our churches...."

The second part of the document (§§70-118), devoted to Eucharistic worship, is a full treatment of the Eucharist, from the

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[83] *Mediator Dei.* The numbers cited in brackets are the margin numbers of the English translation published by the Catholic Truth Society under the title *Christian Worship.*

dogmatic and liturgical point of view as well as the ascetical. Pius XII here forcibly condemns theological errors on the nature of the priesthood of the faithful (§§87-88) and exaggerations of the notion of participation. He defines precisely the "mystical" participation of the faithful in the Offertory (§§84-91) and the immolation (§§92-96). He then indicates the means of promoting this participation: the use of missals, and an active sharing in the chant and the dialogued Mass, to which he imposes precise limits (§§98 and 111).

The third part of the encyclical (§§146-183) treats of the liturgy of praise, that is, the Divine Office. Pope Pius XII reaffirms that this liturgy constitutes the official prayer of the Church (§§162-183). He then analyzes the liturgical year and the nature of devotion to the saints.

Then comes the fourth part of the encyclical (§§184-223), which contains the pastoral directives, "in order," writes the Pope, "to eliminate more easily the errors and exaggerations of the truth which we have mentioned above, and in order to permit the faithful to devote themselves more fruitfully, by following the safest rules, to the liturgical apostolate." The encyclical treats first of the relations between the liturgy and private devotions, and concludes thus:

> It would be pernicious and most deceiving to take it on oneself to reform these pious practices in order to reduce them exclusively to liturgical ceremonies. At the same time the spirit and precepts of the sacred liturgy must be brought to bear profitably on these practices, lest there should be introduced anything unsuitable or unbecoming to the dignity of God's house.... (§196)

The Angelic Pastor goes on to treat of the artistic element in liturgy (§§199-206). There is an opportune reminder that

> in everything pertaining to the liturgy those three characteristics should be evident which our predecessor Pius X mentions: the sacred character which shuns all profane influences; the correct principles of works of art truly worthy of that name; and finally that universality which, while taking due account of local customs and lawful traditions, manifests the unity and catholicity of the Church. (§199)

Pope Pius XII next exhorts the faithful to acquire a solid liturgical formation (§§206-211), particularly with regard to the jun-

ior clergy. Before ending his letter the Pontiff once more puts pastors on their guard against "the introduction of a false doctrine that distorts the very notion of the Catholic faith, or of a mania for restoring primitive usages in the liturgy" (§216).

The holy Pope then gives us the conclusion of his encyclical (218-223). He sends a rousing appeal to "the indifferent and the unwilling," and addresses himself finally to the progressives:

> To those whom an untimely zeal urges on various occasions to say or to do what We regretfully are unable to approve, We repeat the advice of St. Paul: "Put all things to the test; keep what is good." And We beg them paternally to have the goodness to correct their way of seeing and acting, according to a Christian doctrine which conforms to the example of the immaculate Bride of Jesus Christ, the Mother of the saints.

The traditional apostolic blessing concludes the document.

This encyclical is admirable, and we recommend all our readers to read and meditate on it. It is truly a "liturgical *Summa*." At all events it is the Church's last recommendation to her children before she went into that night of mystery of which we do not yet see the end. We have but one regret, which we mentioned earlier, that so beautiful a letter as this was not accompanied by concrete measures, in fact by sanctions. Did not that great Pope, Pius XII, attribute intentions too pure, intentions commensurate with his own sanctity, to the leaders of the Liturgical Movement? It is clear that he did not see these men as the "brigands" that they were. He thought he was dealing with intellectuals straying slightly from the right path, whereas it was for at least some of them a question of veritable ringleaders of revolution. Could it have been otherwise, when these leaders were adopted, supported and encouraged by influential prelates?

Pope St. Pius X had not contented himself with writing *Pascendi*; he had also excommunicated Tyrrell and Loisy, and ordered the taking of the Anti-modernist Oath. We regret that Pius XII did not do likewise in face of the anti-liturgical heresy. Could it, we may repeat, have been otherwise, since the Pope was betrayed and misinformed, and since numerous modernists had already infiltrated themselves into the key posts of the Church?

Pius XII had spoken clearly, and it remained for the pastors of souls to diffuse the common Father's teaching and put it into

practice. But here again, treachery appears. All that was retained of the encyclical were its encouragements of zeal for liturgical renewal, and the countless warnings of the document were passed over in deliberate silence. The model of those misleading commentaries was that of Dom Beauduin himself in his *Maison-Dieu*.[84] But let us hear Fr. Martimort, who wrote these lines in 1959:

> The warnings of the encyclical did not alarm Fr. Beauduin. With the extraordinary keenness of his vision he situated the document in a universal Catholic perspective. At the distance of twelve years, we must recognize that Fr. Lambert Beauduin was right: the encyclical *Mediator Dei* has given the world-wide impetus for an unprecedented revival of the liturgy.[85]

Yes! that is the drama of it: *Mediator Dei* has been made to serve for the subversion of the liturgy. To use a pontifical document for a purpose contrary to the Pope's intentions is a mark of Satan. The Trojan Horse was well ensconced in the City of God. Nothing further would stop the advance of the Liturgical Movement along the wrong lines; and we can only regret the creation on May 18, 1948, of a "Pontifical Commission for the Reform of the Liturgy." Not that such a reform, within given proportions, would be impossible in itself, but because, in the actual context of the time, which the Pope could not suspect, it amounted to delivering oneself bound hand and foot to the enemy.

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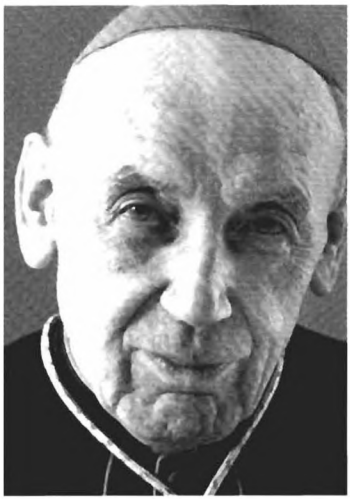
[84] *La Maison-Dieu*, no.13 (1948), pp.7-25.

[85] Fr. A. G. Martimort, "Notre Père Dom Lambert Beauduin," *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, September, 1959.

Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805-75). He restored monastic life after the French Revolution, founding a Benedictine community in the restored St. Peter's Abbey at Solesmes, France, in 1833. He authored the famous *Liturgical Year*, a 15-volume series giving explanation for every day of the Church's calendar year. Acknowledged as one of the leaders of the revival of Gregorian chant. He was the first to use the expression "Liturgical Movement."

Dom Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960). Ordained for the diocese of Liège, Belgium, in 1897. Became active as a labor chaplain, then entered the Benedictine monastery of Mont César, making his profession in 1907. His first abbot was Dom Columba Marmion. In 1926 he founded a bi-ritual monastery for both Latin and Eastern rites at Amay, France, placing liturgy at the service of ecumenism. Was the first ecumenical "mastermind" to divert the Liturgical Movement of Dom Guéranger and Pope St. Pius X from its original intentions.



Augustin Cardinal Bea (1881-1968). Born in the archdiocese of Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Germany. Studied at the University of Freiburg, the University of Innsbruck, the University of Berlin, and at the Theological Faculty of Valkenburg, Holland. Joined the Jesuits in 1902 in Holland. Ordained in 1912. Taught at the Pontifical Biblical Institute from 1924-49, of which he was Rector from 1930-49. Confessor of Pope Pius XII, 1945-58. Created Cardinal Deacon December 14, 1959. Named President of Secretariat for Christian Unity in 1960, he championed religious liberty at Vatican Council II.

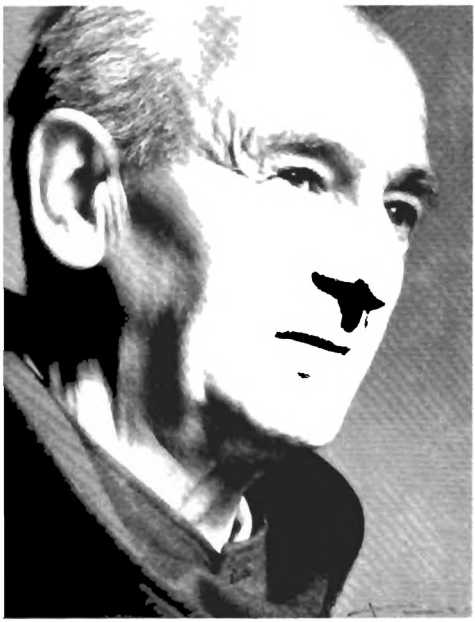
Fr. Pius Parsch (1884-1954). Born at Olmütz, Moravia. Became a canon of St. Augustine at the Austrian monastery of Klosterneuberg in 1904; ordained in 1909. Taught pastoral theology. He was inspired by his experience as a military chaplain to launch a biblical movement to help people attain a deeper understanding of the Bible and the liturgy, combining Biblical and liturgical movements. He founded the Popular Liturgical Apostolate and undertook an apostolate of the press. Renowned for his five-volume study of the liturgical year published in 1929 (entitled in English *The Church's Year of Grace*).

Fr. Romano Guardini (1885-1968). Born in Italy; transplanted a year later to Mainz, Germany. Studies of chemistry and economics preceded his study of theology at the Universities of Freiburg and Tübingen. While attending the university, he frequented the Benedictine abbey of Beuron and authored the very influential works, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* and *Liturgical Education*. Entered the seminary at Mainz, and was ordained in 1910. A powerful and very popular preacher. In 1927 became director of the Catholic Youth Movement and its center at Burg Rothenfels. According to Karl Rahner, what he did with the liturgy at his youth center was a direct model for the liturgical reform of Vatican II.

Dom Odo Casel (1886-1948). Born in Germany. Attended preparatory schools and then entered the University of Bonn. Mentored by Dom Herwegen, he entered Maria Laach monastery in 1905. Professed in 1907. Studied further in Germany and at the Benedictine house at Rome. Ordained a priest in 1911. Wrote hundreds of articles and many books. While chaplain at a convent, he developed a system he called *Mysterientheolgie*, mystery theology (a.k.a., "Paschal Mystery Theology"), which provoked controversy.

Fr. Josef Jungmann, S.J. (1889-1975). Austrian, ordained priest for the diocese of Innsbruck in 1913. Entered the Jesuits in 1917, obtaining his doctorate in theology in 1923. Taught pastoral theology, catechetics, and liturgy at the University of Innsbruck from 1925-38, and from 1945-63. In 1945 he became a member of the Austrian Liturgical Commission; in the 1950's he addressed several liturgical congresses, and was regarded as the outstanding liturgical scholar in the German-speaking world. In 1960 he was named to the Preparatory Commission, served as a *peritus* at Vatican II, and as a consultor for the Consilium.

Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro (1891-1976). Born in the archdiocese of Genoa, Italy. Studied at the Seminary of Genoa and the Pontifical Biblical Institute at Rome. Ordained in 1914, consecrated Archbishop of Ravenna in 1947, and created Cardinal Priest on January 12, 1953. President of the Consilium for Liturgical Reform.



Dom Bernard Botte (1893-1980). Monk of Mont César, Belgium, as a young monk he assisted Dom Beauduin and listened to his lectures at Liturgical Weeks. He specialized in Oriental languages, which enabled him to study the ancient sources of rites. He collaborated in the Centre de Pastoral Liturgique and the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie. He was appointed to the Consilium, and directed work groups that devised several key changes in the Roman liturgy.

Fr. Hans Ansgar Reinhold (1897-1968). Born in Hamburg, Germany. Attended Lutheran public schools. Served in the German army during WWI, then attended the University of Freiburg, where he became acquainted with the philosophers Heidegger and Husserl. His life turned after reading Guardini's *Spirit of the Liturgy*. In 1920 he entered the Jesuit seminary in Innsbruck; in 1922 he spent a year at Maria Laach monastery, experiencing for the first time Mass celebrated facing the people. From that moment, he became an apostle of the Liturgical Movement. He was ordained in 1925; fled Germany in 1936, taking asylum in the U.S., becoming a citizen in 1944. An active apostle of the liturgical reforms adopted at Vatican II. From 1938-54, he wrote a column for *Orate Fratres* (later *Worship*) under the headline "Timely Tracts." Ideas he advocated were incorporated in the Vatican II liturgical reforms.

Dom Damasas Winzen, O.S.B. (1901-71). Born in Hanover, Germany. Attended the Universities of Gottingen and Munich. Entered the Benedictine monastery of Maria Laach in 1921. Received a Ph.D. in Philosophy and was appointed Professor of Philosophy and Rector of Studies at Maria Laach. Active in the Catholic Youth Movement in German universities. Came to the U.S. in 1938 and taught at Darlington Seminary of the Archdiocese of Newark, New Jersey. From 1941-46 he gave retreats and taught at Manhattanville College in New York. He was an associate editor of *Orate Fratres* (now *Worship*). He became chaplain of the Benedictine nuns of Regina Laudis in Bethlehem, Connecticut, from 1947-50, when he founded Mount Saviour Monastery and was appointed its first prior.

Fr. Yves Congar, O.P. (1904-95). Born in the archdiocese of Rheims, France. Educated at the Seminary of Rheims, the Catholic Institute of Paris. Joined the Dominicans (1925), taking the name of Marie-Joseph; professed in 1926; attended ɹe Saulchoir Dominican Seminary, Tournai, Belgium; ordained in 1930. Taught at Le Saulchoir 1931-39 and 1945-54. Served as a medical orderly in the French Army during WWII; awarded French Legion of Honor and Croix de Guerre. Forbidden by he Vatican to teach, lecture, or publish, and was banished to obscure posts in Jerusalem, ɔme, Cambridge, and Strasbourg due to his support to worker-priest movement (1954-56). Consultant to preparatory theological commission of Vatican II (1960); expert at he Council (1962-65). Member of International Theological Commission (1969-85). Nominated Cardinal Deacon (1994).

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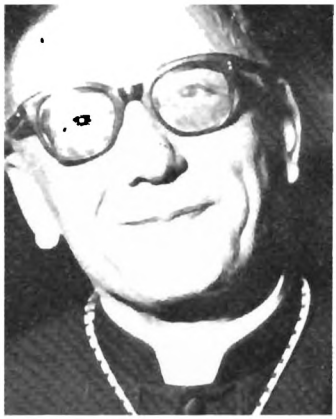
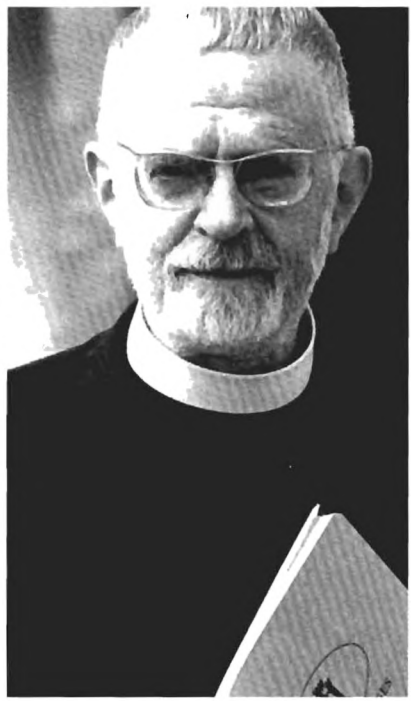


Jean Cardinal Danielou, S.J. (1905-74). Joined the Society of Jesus in 1929, and was ordained in 1938. Taught at the Catholic Institute of Paris from 1943-69. A *peritus* at Vatican Council II. Consecrated titular Archbishop of Taormina (1969), and was created Cardinal Deacon April 28, 1969. Elected member of the Académie Française (1972).

Fr. Balthasar Fischer (1912-2001). Called the "Godfather of the Liturgical Movement." Inducted into the Liturgical Movement by his seminary professor, Fr. Jungmann. Studied at the Academy for Liturgy and Monasticism at Maria Laach, attending the lectures of Dom Herwegen. Ordained in 1936. Was named professor at the major seminary where he lectured in liturgy. Occupied the first chair for liturgy established in Germany; involved in the Liturgical Institute of Trier. Participated in the Preparatory Commission for the Liturgy at Vatican II. Chaired the working group of the Consilium (1964-70) entrusted with the reform of the Rite of Baptism.

Archbishop Annibale Bugnini (1912-82). Ordained priest in 1936; Secretary, Commission for General Liturgical Restoration, 1948-60; Secretary, Pontifical Preparatory Commission on the Liturgy, 1960-62; *Peritus*, Conciliar Commission on the Liturgy, 1962-64; Secretary, Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy, 1964-69; Secretary, Congregation for Divine Worship, 1969-75. Ordained titular Archbishop of Diocletiana, 1972; Pro-Nuncio Apostolic in Iran, 1976-82.

Fr. Adrien Nocent (1913-96). Monk of the Abbey of Maredsous, Denée, Belgium. Professed in 1933. Ordained a priest 1938. Co-founded the Pontifical Liturgical Institute at Sant-Anselmo, Rome, and served there as a professor for thirty-five years. His far-seeing work *L'Avenir de la liturgie* (1961) appeared in English as *The Future of the Liturgy* (1963).



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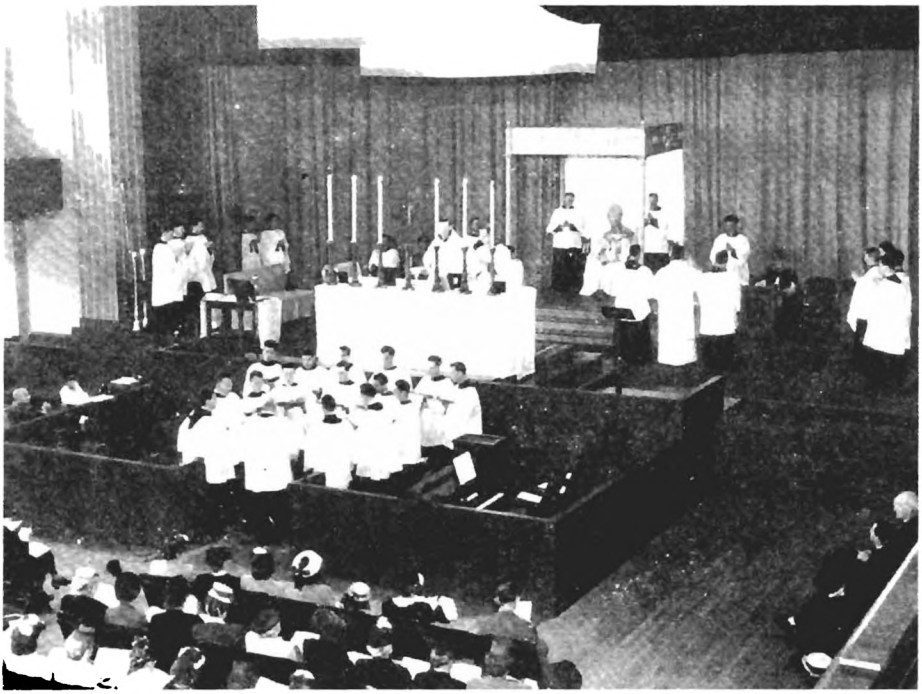
Fr. Louis Bouyer, Oratorian (b.1913). Born in Paris; grew up in a non-denominational Protestant environment. Studied for Protestant license in theology at Paris. Influenced by his teachers, Auguste Lecerf (Calvinist), Oscar Cullmann (Lutheran), and Sergei Bulgakoff (Russian Orthodox). Began publishing in 1938. By 1947 he had become a Catholic priest and member of the Oratory, and had obtained a doctorate in theology from the Catholic Institute of Paris. His major works are *Liturgical Piety* (1954), and *Eucharist* (1968). As of 2002 is residing in Paris.

Fr. Max Thurian (1921-96). A Swiss Reformed pastor, for many years a member of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. Non-Catholic observer at Vatican II. Founding member of the ecumenical community of Taizé, France. Ordained a priest in a semi-secret ceremony performed by Cardinal Ursi without having to abjure his Protestant heresy.

Fr. Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P. (b.1922). In 1942, he entered the Dominican novitiate and studied at Le Saulchoir. Fr. Yves Congar was among his teachers. In 1947 he was directed by his superiors to prepare to teach liturgy and to work with the Center for Liturgical Pastorate (CPL). A career teacher. In 1956 he was made professor at the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie, and was its director from 1964-86. Served as expert for the preconciliar liturgical commission (Vatican II). Consultor for the Consilium. Director for the revision of the Roman Ritual (renamed *The Book of Blessings*). Consultor for the Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments. Still on the lecture circuit.



Solemn High Mass facing the people. Eighth National Liturgical Week, Portland, Oregon, 1947.

Information for these biographies was taken from *How Firm a Foundation: Leaders of the Liturgical Movement*, compiled by Robert L. Tuzik (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1990). Information was also obtained from the Vatican website, from "The Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church," http://www.fiu.edu/~mirandas/cardinals.htm, and from the Mount Saviour Monastery website.

CHAPTER 5

THE YEARS 1950-60

"He who sows the wind reaps the whirlwind." This well-known saying perfectly sums up the period of liturgical history that concerns us here. The wind was sown by men like Beauduin, Casel, and Parsch, and the whirlwind arose, growing in strength throughout the 1950's. It soon became a hurricane—the Council, and was followed by death—the New Mass.

In our study of this period, which covers the end of the pontificate of Pius XII and the beginning of that of John XXIII, we shall give an account of the avowals of the ringleaders of the Liturgical Movement and describe the expansion of the movement throughout the world.

THE MOVEMENT REMOVES ITS MASK

The reader will recollect the words written by Dom Beauduin in 1945:

> If the Holy See is rightfully intent on maintaining liturgical observances whole and entire, and is very severe towards any enterprise or initiative contrary to its laws, it shows itself on the other hand very comprehensive and very favorable towards any efforts made within the letter of the existing laws, and encourages unreservedly those historical studies which investigate the origin and evolution of our rites. The Holy See therefore wishes that its discipline should be studied by all historical methods. So the CPL can do much to realize this item of its program.[86]

The strategy of the post-war Liturgical Movement and, in particular, of the French CPL with its series *Lex Orandi*, was therefore to influence the Holy See by means of the publication of apparently learned historical works. One volume in this series, *La vie de la liturgie* by Fr. Louis Bouyer of the French Oratory, is par-

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[86] "Normes pratiques pour les reformes liturgiques," *La Maison-Dieu*, no.1 (January 1945), pp.9-22.

ticularly worthy of note.[87] Why this book rather than any other? Because it marks a decisive stage in the history of the Liturgical Movement; it ushers in the epoch of admissions and denials; admissions, because here Fr. Bouyer clearly affirms that the deviated movement is sympathetic towards the supporters of the anti-liturgical heresy; denials, because here the author unrestrainedly mocks Dom Guéranger and the entire orthodox Liturgical Movement. The wolves are now in the sheepfold; they no longer need to disguise themselves in sheep's clothing.

We shall now give a detailed description of this book, which in fact consists of lectures given by Fr. Bouyer in the United States.[88] It opens with an affectionate dedication to Dom Lambert Beauduin: "*D. Lamberto Beauduin Patri filius, Magistro discipulus pro tantis beneficiis hoc quamquam exiguum semper Deo gratias referens dedicavit monumentum.*"[89] The saying "Like father like son" is true enough, but, while Dom Beauduin was never without a certain prudence and even moderation, the last vestiges of his Benedictine formation, Fr. Bouyer gives full play to his theories and to his elegant but acid pen. Even the subtitle of the book is a complete program: "A Constructive Critique of the Liturgical Movement."

The entire first section of the book is devoted to this critique. "One can only criticize well what one loves well," writes Fr. Bouyer in the preface. That may be so, but all the same! After a savage condemnation of the liturgy of the Tridentine and post-Tridentine eras, which he deliberately terms "the Baroque period," the Oratorian proceeds to the Romantic reaction and the restoration carried out by Dom Guéranger.

But first he denounces the liturgy of the seventeenth century.

> The liturgy, as many handbooks of the period actually say, was considered to be "the etiquette of the great King." The most ob-

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[87] Louis Bouyer, *La vie de la liturgie*, Collection *Lex Orandi*, 20 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1956). [Citations from the English version, see note 21. Page references following cited passages in this chapter are to this version.]

[88] At the University of Notre Dame in Indiana, which will be discussed below.

[89] "To Dom Lambert Beauduin. This humble memorial is dedicated by the son to the Father and by the disciple to the Master, in return for great benefits received and giving thanks to God at all times." Shortly before the war, Dom Lambert had converted Pastor Bouyer from Lutheranism.

> vious features of it were those embodying the external pomp, decorum and grandeur befitting so majestic a Prince. The lack of any intelligible meaning in so many rites and even in the sacred words themselves was, therefore, praised as enhancing the impression of awe to be given to the dazzled multitude....Of course, in such a conception, the plume on a guard's helmet is at least as important to the sacred rite as the sacramental materials.
>
> And here is the place to remind ourselves that this general assumption that the Liturgy is a kind of superlative court ceremonial was quite uncritically accepted by the first pioneers of the liturgical movement in the nineteenth century, both by Dom Guéranger and Dom Gréa. (pp.58-59)

Poor Dom Guéranger! To begin with, like all those ultramontane and anti-liberal Catholics, he was an ignoramus, or at best a self-taught man.

> This, then, was the great weakness of the Catholic revival in the nineteenth century—a congenital lack of scientific grounding and even of healthy critical reasoning. This same lack appeared at the very beginning of what we may call the modern liturgical revival, in the form of strange deficiencies in logic, and startling justifications of liturgical practices, sometimes amounting to humbug. (p.11)

Dom Guéranger regarded the medieval period "as providing a clue to the true signification of the liturgy itself" (p.10). Hence, adds Fr. Bouyer, "the frenzy for Gothic everywhere—Gothic buildings, Gothic vestments, Gothic singing, Gothic poetry and romance, and so on" (p.10). Certainly this desire for an almost exclusive return to the Middle Ages was doubtless excessive on the part of the restorer of Solesmes, but it is surely not very intelligent of the author to add: "But neither can we deny that this worship was an antiquarian reconstruction, and one of very doubtful authenticity on many cardinal points. On the one hand, it had lost that contact with the mentality of its own times which the Baroque worship had certainly possessed, and, on the other hand, the antiquity which it re-created was no more what it made out to be than the sham Goth architecture of Viollet-le-Duc or Pugin was truly Gothic" (pp.11-12).

In the opinion of Fr. Bouyer, the Middle Ages, like the Baroque period, had no understanding of the true nature of the liturgy. "Dom Herwegen," he wrote,

> more forcefully than any other authority, has shown that the medieval period, though its way of carrying out the traditional liturgy was superior to Baroque practice, had already begun to overlay the liturgy with fanciful interpretations and developments foreign to its nature. Therefore, far from demonstrating an ideal understanding and practice of the Catholic liturgy, the medieval period in fact paved the way for the abandonment of the liturgy by Protestantism and its final disgrace and neglect in so much of post-Tridentine Catholicism. (p.15)

So St. Thomas Aquinas and Durandus of Mende (1237?-1296) are responsible for the errors of Luther!

The "constructive critique" of Fr. Bouyer thus leads us to the Patristic era, the golden age of liturgy, and the privileged epoch when the Church still understood the "Christian Mystery," in the words of Dom Casel. Therefore, in the eyes of Fr. Bouyer and the deviated Liturgical Movement, the Church in the course of the centuries had progressively lost a true understanding of the liturgy. What a scandalous idea!

After this, the remainder of the work does not surprise us. As the Church has been unfaithful to its liturgical mission, the only good and true Christians are those who have reacted against the "mummification" of the liturgy. In the words of the Oratorian: "After what has been said already concerning the slow but continuous disintegration of sound liturgical thinking which took place during the Middle Ages, we need not be surprised at the fact that the beginnings of a true liturgical movement, as we have just defined it, are to be found during the sixteenth century." Erasmus and the first reformers are the fathers of this movement.

Certainly, Fr. Bouyer reproaches the latter for having left the Church, but he immediately adds:

> But it may be said in fact that, in this field as in many others, the Reformation was shipwrecked not because it was too daring, although this has often been said, but because it was much too uncritical of its own assumptions....
>
> For these reasons, the beginnings of a true liturgical revival are not to be sought in the so-called Reformation, but rather to be looked for in the reaction to it—a reaction which should have been at once critical of the Reformation itself and of the state of things which the Reformation opposed. Unfortunately, at first this was not so: the great weakness of the Counter-Reformation

> lay in its inability to achieve quickly a balance between criticism of the Reformation and criticism of its causes—and Baroque Catholicism was the result. (pp.42-43)

What a mockery of the magnificent Catholic renewal called forth by the Council of Trent!

And the "constructive critique" of Bouyer does not end here. There follow page upon page of praise for the Anglican theologians of the reign of Charles I, the "Caroline divines." Finally, the author gives an idyllic description of the work of the Gallican and Jansenist reformers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such men as Letourneux, Voisin, and Jubé are praised to the skies, while Dom Guéranger, who dared to criticize them[90] is cast into the lowest depths.

We have now summarized the essence of Fr. Bouyer's critique. We leave it to the reader to judge the extent to which the Oratorian of 1956 had lost the "primordial Catholic sense" spoken of by Dom Rousseau in 1945. He had certainly come a long way in ten years! Now we must consider the "constructive" as opposed to the critical section of the work. First of all, Fr. Bouyer defines the concept of tradition. "In approaching the reform of the liturgy, we must, first of all, keep in mind the danger of either a false traditionalism, on the one hand, or of a rash modernism, on the other" (p.70). Certainly! But instead of following the course of true traditionalism, he adopts a "well-considered" modernism, discreetly taking the course described by Cardinal Newman.[91] The liturgy, like the entire magisterium of the Church, will be a reflection of Catholic truth, but this teaching will be valid only for a given era.

We are not exaggerating the statements of Fr. Bouyer. He writes:

> More exactly—as can be seen in the statements of the Council of Trent and in the detailed formulations of the various Pontifical Bulls canonizing the Missal and Breviary of Pius V, and, finally, in the Encyclical *Mediator Dei*—in the field of liturgy as in every other, the living authority of the Holy See itself and of all the Bishops, at Trent and elsewhere, intervenes precisely in

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[90] Guéranger, *Institutions liturgiques*, vol.II, *passim*.

[91] John Henry Newman, *Via Media*, vol.I, pp.249-51.

order to canonize what it considers to be the most perfect vehicle available in our age for the maintenance of the tradition which through Christian antiquity has come down from the Apostles themselves.[92] (p.72)

Such a statement is a proclamation of Modernism. As early as 1907 St. Pius X had written:

> [For the Modernists] these [religious] formulae therefore stand midway between the believer and his faith: in their relation to the faith they are the inadequate expression of its object, and are usually called symbols; in their relation to the believer they are mere instruments. Hence it is quite impossible to maintain that they absolutely contain the truth; for, in so far as they are symbols, they are the images of truth, and so must be adapted to the religious sense in its relation to man; and as instruments, they are the vehicles of truth, and must therefore in their turn be adapted to man in his relation to the religious sense. But the object of the religious sense, as something contained in the absolute, possesses an infinite variety of aspects, of which now one, now another, may present itself. In like manner he who believes can avail himself of varying conditions. Consequently, the formulae which we call dogma must be subject to these vicissitudes, and are, therefore, liable to change....Wherefore, if for any reason this adaptation should cease to exist, they lose their first meaning and accordingly need to be changed.[93]

Therefore, for Fr. Bouyer, as for all the modernists who are today occupying the Church, the definitions of the Council of Trent and the liturgy that resulted from them "upheld, in their era, the tradition that we have received, by way of Christian antiquity, from the Apostles themselves." But almost four centuries have passed since the Council of Trent; the dogmatic formulae and the liturgy are no longer suited to "modern man" or to the Christian come of age, "and accordingly need to be changed." As

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[92] The reader will notice that Fr. Bouyer uses the word "canonize." Archbishop Lefebvre also used this expression in his sermon of June 29, 1976, but gave it the full Catholic meaning: "St. Pius V has solemnly affirmed in his bull that, in perpetuity, never, at any time, may any censure be inflicted on a priest because he says this Mass. Why? Because this Mass has been canonized; he [Pius V] canonized it in perpetuity. Now, a pope cannot revoke a canonization. The pope can make a new rite, but he cannot revoke a canonization." *Été chaud* (Martigny: Éditions S. Gabriel, 1976), p.12.

[93] St. Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, September 8, 1907, Dz 2079-80.

a result, Bouyer attempts to discover the "permanent shape of the liturgy"; then he indicates "some means whereby this ever constant wealth of Christian tradition may be applied to the present situation and its needs" (p.74).

Fr. Bouyer discovered this "permanent shape of the liturgy" in the Jewish Eucharist. With the *sensus catholicus* which is his distinguishing mark, the Oratorian takes almost all his ideas from Protestant writers: Brilioth, Lietzmann, and Cullmann are frequently quoted.[94] In the works of these authors he discovers the four elements that constitute the Eucharist: communion, sacrifice, thanksgiving, and memorial. In his definition of these terms we see the birth of a completely new theology of the Mass, a theology that was to be consecrated thirteen years later, in 1969, in the *Institutio Generalis* of the New Order of Mass. It is by no means an exaggeration to say that Fr. Bouyer, who is at the time of this writing (1978) a member of the Central Theological Commission, is one of those chiefly responsible for the protestantization of the postconciliar liturgy. In his own words: "Thus, the element of 'Communion' means that the Eucharist is a meal, a community meal, in which all the participants are brought together to have a common share in common goods..." (p.76). Later on we find:

> The use of these sacrificial terms did not arise, as might be supposed, from an idea of the Cross as being in some way represented in the Mass. Far from it—historical evidence leads us rather to the supposition that the terminology of sacrifice came to be applied to the Cross by the Church because the Cross was felt to be at the heart of the sacrifice which is offered by the Church in the Eucharistic celebration. (p.76)

The thanksgiving, as understood by the Oratorian, already gives us a glimpse of the changes in the Offertory which we have seen. "It is a thanksgiving to God for all His gifts," he writes "including in one view the whole of creation and redemption but always taking as a starting point the bread and wine, typical of all created things, and the consuming of which is the actual occasion

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[94] Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice* (London, 1930); Litzmann, *Messe und Herrenmahl*; Oscar Cullman, *La signification de la Sainte Cène dans le Christianisme primitif* (Strasbourg, 1936).

both of the meal itself and of the celebration attached to it" (p.78).

Having considered the memorial in its relation to the Word of God, Fr. Bouyer writes, in the tradition started by Dom Pius Parsch,

> The whole Eucharistic celebration is also a memorial....[T]here is an inseparable connection between the two parts of the Christian *synaxis*, that is, between the Bible readings and the meal. For the readings lead up to the meal. They recall to memory God's action of entering into human history, redeeming it, and fulfilling it from within; while the meal itself commemorates the climax of this process in the Cross of Christ. And the meal needs the readings to point out to us the way to see it aright, not as a separate event of today, but understandable only in reference to a decisive action accomplished once and for all in the past. Such a consideration will bring us in due time to see that the whole Mass is a single liturgy of the Word, Who began by speaking to man; Who continued speaking to him more and more intimately; Who finally spoke to him most directly as the Word-made-flesh; and Who now speaks from the very heart of man himself to God the Father through the Spirit. (p.79)

The reader will now understand more clearly the exaggerated importance given to the sacrosanct "Liturgy of the Word" by modern liturgists. Nothing, absolutely nothing, in the conciliar and postconciliar reforms is the result of chance. Every change in the rubrics corresponds to a grave theological error concocted in the laboratories of the deviated Liturgical Movement. This is true to such an extent that in the writings of Fr. Bouyer we find almost the complete text of the notorious Article 7 of the *Institutio Generalis* of the *Novus Ordo Missae*, which we have mentioned above. He has the audacity to write:

> Clearly, this balanced view of the celebration of the Eucharist can enable us to grasp fully the idea of the real presence of Christ in His Church. We are not, in a word, to focus our contemplation on the sacramental bread and wine alone, but on two other realities as well. If there is a necessity, first of all, to consider the presence of Christ as victim in the eucharistic elements, we must not for that reason neglect His presence as high priest in the whole hierarchy. Christ will be present in the elements only because He is present in the man who is to preside over the *synaxis* and to say the thanksgiving in Christ's own name, this pres-

> ence being brought about through the apostolic succession. And, thirdly, Christ is to be present in the whole body of the Church, for the Church enjoys the Eucharistic presence only to be made one, *in* Christ and *with* Christ, through the Eucharistic celebration, and especially through the consummation in the holy meal. (pp.80-81)

Fr. Bouyer finds this "balanced concept of the eucharistic celebration" in the Jewish liturgy.[95] The liturgy of the sacred meals provides him with the ideal eucharistic formula: "Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, king from all eternity, who hast created the fruit of the vine." Let us repeat once again that the "Lercaro-Bugnini Studio" which produced the New Mass found its scenario in the works of the Liturgical Movement of the years 1950-1960. The new Offertory is simply a repetition of the Jewish blessings that were so highly praised by Fr. Bouyer.

We hope we have not wearied the reader with this lengthy analysis of *La vie de la liturgie*. For we feel that such a study is necessary in order to give a true account of the state of the Liturgical Movement at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century: it had been completely taken over by Modernism and Protestantism. From now on it should no longer be called the Liturgical Movement, but the "Liturgical Revolution," a revolution not only in the theory but also in the practice of the liturgy. As proof of this, let us bear in mind the following words of Romano Guardini:

> The celebration must emphasize the great moments of the sacred event, accentuate the features of its inner structure, bring about the more direct participation of the faithful, *etc.* We do not set ourselves such a task here; rather, it would have to be brought about by a sort of ideal *ordo*, the preparatory work for the draft of which is, moreover, already quite advanced.

This revealing passage was written shortly after the Second World War.[96] From now on nothing will stand in the way of liturgical revolution.

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[95] The *Cahiers Sioniens* published by the Fathers of Sion, 68, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs, Paris, played an important role in this judaizing of the liturgy. The principal editors were Miss Renée Bloch, Professor Vermes of Oxford, and Fr. Paul Demann.

THE EXPANSION OF THE MOVEMENT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

This period in the history of the Liturgical Revolution is characterized by the increasing influence throughout the world of the French and German liturgists. They appear everywhere, arrange great numbers of congresses and conferences, organize "summer universities," translate their writings into many languages, and, above all, in the words of Dom Beauduin, gain the "active sympathy" of the episcopate.

In France, first of all, the notorious CPL was overtaken by more radical revolutionaries, who organized large numbers of what were then known as "paraliturgies." These were a sort of prayer group outside the liturgy of the Church, by which members were "initiated" into a spirit of greater participation in the liturgy proper. The CPL could no longer control its troops. The chaplains of Catholic Action withdrew their more militant members from the parishes, their only concern now being to evangelize the modern, unbelieving world, and consequently faithful Catholics were almost entirely neglected.

Fr. Bouyer gave at this time his very lucid opinion of such endeavors:

> These various factors could lead, and sometimes have led to some neglect of the traditional aspect of the liturgy, and to an interest perhaps not perfectly balanced in making up or re-making the liturgy. The creation and overwhelming success of what have been called "paraliturgies" are proofs of what we have just been saying. Composed first to be a means of education, a transitional device preparing the way for an understanding of the liturgy itself, these "paraliturgies" have often become ends in themselves. Some people, that is, have been tempted to find in these para-liturgies, not a means toward taking part in the real liturgy, but rather a "liturgy of the future" which will more or less replace or refashion the official liturgy itself.[97]

Thus, by 1955, the generation to which Duployé, Roguet, and Bouyer belonged had been overtaken by "young wolves,"

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[96] Romano Guardini, *Besinnung von der Feier der heiligen Messe* (Mainz, 1947). Translated by Pie Duployé and published as *La Messe*, Collection *Lex Orandi*, vol.21 (Cerf, 1957).

[97] Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, pp.67-68.

who treated them much more savagely than they themselves had treated the leaders of the pre-war movement. In 1956 was founded the Parisian Liturgical Institute (Institut Supérieur de Liturgie) with Dom Bernard Botte as director, Fr. Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P., as assistant director, and Fr. Pierre Jounel as secretary. The first to graduate from this Institute, which was independent of the CPL, was Dom Adrien Nocent, whom we shall meet again at St. Anselm's in Rome on the eve of the Council.[98]

At the same time contacts became increasingly frequent between the CPL in Paris and the Liturgical Institute in Trier. Fr. Doncoeur and Fr. Chenu often travelled to Germany, while Dom Pius Parsch and Professor Romano Guardini visited France. These constant exchanges resulted, from 1950 onwards, in the *Semaines d'études liturgiques* (Liturgical Study Weeks) in Luxemburg which, under the patronage of Bishops Philippe and Lommel, played a very great role in the co-ordination of the various European liturgical organizations.[99] The Conference of the Cardinals and Archbishops of France had been won over to the cause of the Liturgical Movement. In 1956 it published a *Directoire pour la pastorale de la messe à l'usage des dioceses de France*. The very title of this document shows the considerable influence of the CPL on the French episcopate.

In Germany the situation deteriorated even more rapidly. The Bishops' Conference had been on the side of the movement since 1940. Bishop Gröber and the encyclical *Mediator Dei* had not been able to stem the revolutionary tide, and the years 1950-60 saw a succession of victories for the Liturgical Institute in Trier (founded in 1947) and for the bishops who had given it their allegiance.

The "German High Mass" became widespread and included even Pontifical Masses, which produced a reaction from the Holy Office in 1955. The decree of April 29, 1955, stated that the privilege of the German High Mass did not extend to Pontifical Masses, Masses in the presence of a bishop, or to seminaries, monasteries, and cathedrals; furthermore, the singing of the Proper in

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[98] For the complete history of the Parisian Institut Supérieur de Liturgie, see Bernard Botte, *Le movement liturgique*, pp.119-35.

[99] Jean Hild, *Perspectives de pastorale liturgique*, 1951. *Première semaine d'études liturgiques de Luxembourg*, 1950.

German was forbidden. The German episcopate did not obey, and Bishop Stohr, president of the Liturgical Commission, went so far as to write that the decree represented "a renewed approbation of the German High Mass." During this time Romano Guardini was working on a translation of the Psalter for liturgical use.

Mention should also be made of the two great Liturgical Congresses held in Germany, the first in Frankfurt in 1950 and the second in Munich in 1955. The concluding resolutions of these Congresses were all in the same vein: the reduction of the Eucharistic fast, permission for evening Masses, the reform of Holy Week, and vernacular readings at Mass.[100]

In Spain as a direct result of the massacres of 1936, the Liturgical Movement was entirely extinguished, a state of affairs that lasted from the start of the Civil War until 1954. During the 1950's onwards, the French and German liturgists made a concerted effort to revive the Spanish Liturgical Movement on an openly reformist basis. As in every country at this time, Catholic Action also encouraged the "renewal." First of all, in May 1952, the 35th International Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona brought together liturgists from all over the world. In 1954 the very progressive journal *Incunable* cooperated in founding the *Coloquios de Pastoral Liturgica* (Discussions on the Liturgical Pastorate) presided over by Bishop Miranda, auxiliary bishop of Toledo. The same bishop, until his death in an accident in 1961, also directed the *Junta Nacional de Apostolado Liturgico* (National Association for the Liturgical Apostolate) founded on April 15, 1956. In 1957 the first Spanish liturgical study week took place in the presence of Bishop Tarancon. As in other countries, the publication of "Directions for the Celebration of Mass" was the order of the day. The final outcome of these endeavors was the foundation in 1958 of the Center for the Liturgical Pastorate in Barcelona.[101]

In Italy events moved more slowly, owing to the fact that until 1959 there was no Bishops' Conference. Here again, the influence of the French CPL and the Liturgical Institute in Trier was considerable, especially as a result of the dissemination of the

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[100] Kolbe, "Allemagne," pp.47-62.

[101] Casiano Floristan, "Espagne," *La Maison-Dieu*, no.74 (1963), pp.109-27.

works of the leaders of the German and French movements. The *Centro di Azione Liturgica* (Center for Liturgical Action) was founded in 1948 by Bishop Bernareggi of Bergamo. The protector of this organization, which was the equivalent of the CPL, was the very powerful Cardinal Lercaro. In the years 1955-60 two dioceses, Milan and Bologna, were at the forefront of the Italian movement; the names of their pastors, Cardinal Montini and Cardinal Lercaro, were later to gain a sad notoriety.[102]

In the United States the Liturgical Movement had been greatly influenced from the start by the Abbey of Maria Laach. The leaders of the American "Movement," Fr. Reinhold, Dom Winzen and Professor Quasten, were all German. From 1947 onwards, a liturgical seminar was held every summer at the University of Notre Dame in Indiana and drew the leading European "specialists," including Fr. Jungmann and Fr. Jean Danielou. It was here, too, that Fr. Bouyer expounded his "constructive critique" of the Liturgical Movement. The University of Washington also gave shelter to a Research Center which closely followed the ideas of Dom Casel.[103]

This worldwide survey of the Liturgical Movement would be incomplete without a mention of the "International Congresses for Liturgical Studies," which every year brought together the liturgical "intelligentsia" of the whole world. Here, under the protection of such eminent prelates as Cardinal Bea, the *periti* of five continents exchanged views, took resolutions and suggested reforms. The Congresses were held at Maria Laach (1951),[104] Mont-Sainte-Odile in Alsace (1952), Lugano (1953), Louvain (1954), Assisi (1956), Montserrat in Spain (1958), and finally in Munich (1960).

Let us take a brief look at the Allocution of Pope Pius XII to the members of the Congress of Assisi on September 22, 1956.[105]

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[102] Rinaldo Falsini, "Italie," *La Maison-Dieu*, no.74 (1963), pp.55-69.

[103] Jean Danielou, "Le mouvement liturgique aux Etats-Unis," *La Maison-Dieu*, no.25 (1951), pp.90-3.

[104] The Congresses were not attended by a member of the hierarchy until Lugano (1953), when the reform of the Mass was discussed with great vigor. Fr. Jungmann proved to be very critical of the Roman Canon. See Botte, *Le Mouvement liturgique*, pp.102-104. Other congresses were held, which were technically "strictly private": at Mont César in 1954, under the aegis of Dom Capelle, there was a debate on concelebration.

This address perfectly reflects the profound ambiguity of the situation in the Church at the end of the pontificate of Pope Pius XII. We shall lay particular stress on this point in the following chapter. We have already emphasized the fact that Pope Pius XII did not know the true position of the Liturgical Movement. Its most dangerous leaders were being supported and protected by the highest dignitaries in the Church. How could the Pope have suspected that the "experts" who were so highly praised by Cardinals Bea and Lercaro were in fact the most dangerous enemies of the Church? Thus Pius XII gave the most inopportune encouragement to the Congress at Assisi:

> The Liturgical Movement is like an indication of the plans of divine providence for the present time, like the wind of the Holy Ghost blowing through the Church, bringing men closer to the mysteries of the faith and the treasures of grace, which flow from the active participation of the faithful in the life of the liturgy.

This declaration would have been true and timely before 1920; in 1956 it was no longer so. In the intervening years the Liturgical Movement had denied its origins and abandoned the principles laid down by Dom Guéranger and St. Pius X. It was no longer inspired by the wind of the Holy Ghost, but by the fetid breath of Satan.

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[105] The complete translation of this Allocution appears in the *Enseignements pontificaux*, *Liturgie*, vol.1 (Solesmes), nos.793-822.

CHAPTER 6

THE LITURGICAL REFORMS

We shall now consider the first liturgical reforms, both those of Pius XII and those of John XXIII. We shall try to understand the intentions of their authors and to decide whether their efforts were justified, without, however, presuming to make a final judgment on such a delicate matter, and one that to this day has been very little studied. In conclusion we shall demonstrate that, whatever one's opinion of these reforms, one cannot deny that even at this early date they led to a painful confusion among the faithful, a foretaste of the misery of our own times.

THE LITURGICAL REFORMS OF POPE PIUS XII

In the *motu proprio In Cotidianis Precibus* of March 24, 1945,[106] Pius XII authorized a new translation of the Psalms for use in the recitation of the Divine Office. This new Latin translation, made by the Pontifical Biblical Institute, met with very little success, a fact that says much for the good taste and religious sense of the Catholic clergy. Indeed, this radically revised version, which closely followed the Hebrew text, was devoid of all poetry, included many words that were difficult to pronounce, and was completely unsuited to Gregorian chant. It stands as a permanent witness to the lack of liturgical sense on the part of Cardinal Bea and his Jesuit colleagues who were responsible for the work.

But let us now consider a much more important event: the foundation, on May 18, 1948, of the Pontifical Commission for the Reform of the Liturgy. Before examining the actions of this Commission, we shall first consider the motives for its foundation and the circumstances surrounding it. We must state, first of all, that liturgical reform, within certain limits, is perfectly legitimate. So we are not questioning the foundation of the Commission as such, but rather its advisability at that particular time. For example, during a period of earthquakes and tremors, no architect

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[106] *Ibid.*, nos. 481-9.

would decide to restore a fortress which, although old, was still solid and robust. He would fear that his work would undermine the ancient walls which were already under attack from all quarters. From this example we can see that to undertake a reform of the liturgy at a time when it was being attacked on all sides by its worst enemies, meant cooperating in its destruction by further undermining its already shaken foundations. One does not change course in a storm. But first, one must recognize that there is a storm. And, in addition, the captain must be kept well informed by his officers. So we cannot emphasize too often that Pope Pius XII was not aware of the storm that was then battering the Barque of Peter. He did not know that the Liturgical Movement was in the hands of the most dangerous enemies of the Church. How could he have suspected such a terrible fact, when the noblest princes of the Church were disguising these wolves with sheep's clothing! It would have been impossible for him to have recognized such a situation at that time and without the benefit of hindsight. It is easy to make judgments in 1980, when the Modernists have long since been unmasked and have made public their underground activities, but in 1948 how could one know that a cardinal's purple, or a black and white habit, concealed a disciple of Loisy?

Dom Beauduin had given the marching orders in 1945:[107] his followers' requests were to be put forward by the bishops and by dedicated members of Catholic Action. And he wrote: "The Church has no fear of modifying her discipline for the good of her children." The bishops, therefore, multiplied their petitions to Rome, demanding liturgical reforms and the mitigation of sacramental discipline: the reform of the Eucharistic fast, evening Masses, the reform of Holy Week, and the introduction of the vernacular into the sacramental rites. Since there was often an existing pastoral need, Pius XII felt obliged to comply with these requests.

Thus, with the purest of intentions, Pius XII undertook reforms that were required by the good of souls, but without realizing, as would have been impossible, that he was thereby undermining the foundations of the Church's liturgy and discipline at

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[107] "Normes pratiques pour les reformes liturgiques," pp.9-22.

one of the most critical moments in their history, and, above all, without being aware that he was putting into practice the program of the deviated Liturgical Movement. The demands presented by Msgr. Harscouet and Cardinal Bertram had been formulated by Dom Beauduin and Romano Guardini, and Pius XII did not suspect this in the slightest; such was the nature of the terrible drama experienced by the Church during these years of the pontificate of the Angelic Pastor. Therefore, in order to understand these first Roman reforms, one must always look at both sides of the question. On the one hand, they are the expression of the will of a saintly Pope, which guarantees their perfect orthodoxy; on the other, they are stages in the realization of a plot intended to bring about the death of the Church.

And now for the details: first of all, the reform of the Eucharistic fast. Since the end of the war, the bishops had unceasingly begged the Holy See to extend the indults granted as a result of wartime conditions. In the apostolic constitution *Christus Dominus* of January 6, 1953, Pope Pius XII reduced "the period of fasting to be observed before celebrating Mass or receiving Holy Communion to three hours for solid food and to one hour for non-alcoholic drinks."[108] In the *motu proprio Sacram Communionem* of March 19, 1957, the same pontiff further extended the permission to celebrate Mass in the afternoon.

We shall now quote a passage from this document, to demonstrate to the reader the twofold nature of the influence behind these reforms, which we have discussed above. On the one hand, the pressure from the bishops (who were being manipulated by the various liturgical centers) and, on the other, the perfectly legitimate pastoral concern of the Angelic Pastor:

> The bishops have expressed to Us their profound gratitude for these concessions, which have produced abundant fruit, and many have persistently implored Us to authorize them to permit the daily celebration of Mass during the afternoon, in view of the great profit that the faithful would derive from this....Given the considerable changes that have taken place in the organization of work and of the public services, and in social conditions as a whole, We have judged it good to acquiesce in the pressing demands of the bishops.[109]

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[108] *Liturgie*, nos. 678-83.

Pope Pius XII ends his *motu proprio* with an appeal to religious ardor: "But We most strongly exhort those priests and faithful, who are able to do so, to observe before Mass or Holy Communion the ancient and venerable form of the Eucharistic fast." Thus, while the Pope was concerned with making legitimate concessions to the demands of health and modern life, the neo-liturgists saw these reforms as constituting the first steps in the destruction of the Church's sacramental discipline. The three hours were soon reduced to one, which then became the "quarter of an hour" of Paul VI.

We shall find exactly the same elements in the reform of Holy Week. Since 1945-6 the French CPL and similar organizations throughout the world had organized numerous conferences, publications, and initiatives of every kind, with the aim of enabling the faithful to participate in the ceremonies of Holy Week, ceremonies of an interminable length, held at unsuitable times, in the presence of a ridiculously small number of the faithful... Such a state of affairs could not be allowed to continue. "For these reasons," Cardinal Cicognani wrote,

> leading liturgical experts, priests entrusted with the care of souls, and above all Their Excellencies the Bishops have in recent years sent insistent requests to the Holy See for the return of the liturgical ceremonies of the Sacred Triduum to the evening, as was the case in ancient times. This will ensure that all the faithful will be able to assist at these ceremonies without difficulty.[110]

Here again, we can see that Pius XII is acting for an essentially pastoral reason: so that large numbers of the faithful will be able to assist at the greatest liturgical ceremonies of the year.

To this end, in 1951, he granted certain dioceses permission to celebrate the Easter Vigil on the evening of Holy Saturday. In 1953 he entrusted to the Commission for the Reform of the Liturgy the task of reforming the entire Office of Holy Week. When the work was completed it was approved by the College of Cardinals on July 19, 1955, and promulgated by the Sacred Congrega-

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[109] *Ibid.*, no.825.

[110] Sacred Congregation of Rites, Decree *Maxima Redemptionis*, November 16, 1955, in *Liturgie*, nos. 740-3.

tion of Rites in the decree *Maxima Redemptionis* of November 16 of the same year.

In two years the members of the Commission had accomplished a considerable amount of work, and it is quite clear that they had gone further than the Pope had intended. Pius XII wanted to restore the traditional times of the Offices, with the aim of making it easier for the faithful to attend them; nowhere do we find any indication of a wish to change the rites of Holy Week. Proof of this is given by the decree *Maxima Redemptionis*, which justifies only the new times and makes no mention at all of the changes in the ceremonies themselves. The *periti* of the Commission took advantage of the work in progress to introduce into the rites their archaeological discoveries and liturgical theories. The "experts" treated this reform as a "trial run." Having established the success of their ceremonies, they later introduced them into the entire liturgy.

Thus the changes in the liturgy of the Mass in the *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Restauratus* (Restored Liturgy of Holy Week) were extended to the whole liturgy by the reform promulgated by John XXIII in 1960. But let us not anticipate. We shall discuss first of all the most important changes of 1955. First of all, the extreme simplification of the Blessing of the Palms, which came about under the pretext of purifying the Missal of its non-Roman elements; indeed, the idea of such an expurgation went back a long time, to the English liturgical scholar Edmund Bishop writing in 1899. Having favorably compared the "sobriety of Roman forms" with the elaboration of the "early Gallican and Spanish books," he continued:

> Features that are most characteristic of them are not, indeed, wholly wanting in the Roman missal, as, for instance, in the third prayer for the blessing of the palms on Palm Sunday, which begins much like an ordinary collect, and then breaks forth into an expository instruction on the mystical meaning of the ceremony. "The branches of palms, then, signify His triumph," *etc.*, *etc.*—an exposition quite in place in an address to the people, but surely not so, according to our now common notions, in a prayer addressed to God.[111]

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[111] Edmund Bishop, *The Genius of the Roman Rite*, 2nd ed. (London: F. E. Robinson & Co., 1901), p.11.

We should also note that the four narratives of the Passion sung during Holy Week no longer include the Anointing at Bethany or, which is more serious, the Last Supper. The Last Gospel has been suppressed on Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, and at the Mass of the Easter Vigil (when the Preparatory Prayers are also omitted). The celebrant no longer reads the passages sung by the deacon and sub-deacon; only the deacon says "*Flectamus genua*" and "*Levate.*" All these changes were introduced, not to mention the changes in the ceremonies of the New Fire and the Paschal Candle, and, above all, the radical reduction in the number of readings and responses.

A final unexpected blow was the disappearance of the baptismal ceremonies on the Vigil of Pentecost. The positive aspect of all these reforms is again a pastoral one: the introduction of the Washing of Feet at the evening Mass on Maundy Thursday, the reappearance of the Chrism Mass, and the Renewal of Baptismal Vows during the Easter Vigil. We can thus conclude that the new *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae* brought some pastoral advantages, but at the price of modification of the most ancient and venerable ceremonies of the Roman Catholic liturgy.

Pius XII considered that the advantages outweighed the disadvatages. We are by no means challenging his decision, but we would simply remind the reader that during this time the deviated Liturgical Movement gained several victories. To quote Fr. Chenu:

> Fr. Duployé followed this development with a passionate involvement and a clear understanding. I remember that much later he said to me: "If we can succeed in restoring the Easter Vigil to its original importance, the Liturgical Movement will have won the day. I give it ten years." And ten years later it had happened.[112]

The rubrics of the Missal and Breviary were not spared either. As had happened previously, "several local Ordinaries addressed insistent demands to the Holy See" and, continues Cardinal Cicognani, "the Supreme Pontiff, Pope Pius XII, in virtue of his pastoral care and solicitude, entrusted the examination of this matter to a special commission of experts, appointed to study a

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[112] Chenu, *Un théologien en liberté*, pp.92-3.

general restoration of the liturgy."[113] This resulted in the promulgation by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, on March 23, 1955, of the decree *Cum Hac Nostra Aetate*. This reform led to a simplification of the rubrics, with the aim of making it easier for priests to recite the Breviary. Pope Pius XII having wished to lighten the task of saying the Divine Office, the "experts" once again guided the reform in the direction desired by the Liturgical Movement.

As early as 1915 Dom Cabrol had judged the reform of St. Pius X inadequate, in that the sanctoral cycle was still given too privileged a position. Forty years later, Rome showed itself to be entirely of his opinion, reducing all the semi-double and simple feasts to commemorations and granting permission to say the ferial office of Lent or Passiontide instead of the office of a saint.[114] The number of vigils was considerably diminished and the octaves were reduced to a minimum: only those of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost were spared. The Breviary was shorn of all its *Paters*, *Aves* and *Credos*; the final antiphon of the Blessed Virgin was retained only at Compline; the rubrics for the *Preces* and Commemorations were simplified; and the Athanasian Creed, now especially of such great significance, was to be said only on Trinity Sunday.

In concluding this brief study of the liturgical reforms of Pope Pius XII, it is our duty to remind the reader of their perfect orthodoxy, guaranteed by that of the Pope who promulgated them; but we must also recognize that, in retrospect, for the reasons given above, they constitute the first stages of the "auto-demolition" of the Roman liturgy.

THE DEATH OF POPE PIUS XII AND THE BEGINNING OF THE PONTIFICATE OF POPE JOHN XXIII

The news of the death of the Angelic Pastor was received with almost delirious joy by the deviated Liturgical Movement. Al-

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[113] Sacred Congregation of Rites, Decree *Cum Hac Nostra Aetate*, March 3, 1955, in *Les heures du jour* (Desclée, 1959), p.31.

[114] The "experts" made the following comment: "If a free choice can be made, and in order to remain in the spirit of this reform, it is better if one frequently chooses the ferial office."

though the reforms of Pius XII had given some satisfaction to the leaders of the Movement, the implacable orthodoxy that the Pope had maintained throughout had not been to their taste. New and more daring reforms were called for, and they needed a pope who understood the problem of ecumenism and who was a wholehearted supporter of the Movement. This disappearance of Pius XII now gave them grounds for hope. But let us turn to Fr. Bouyer and the aged Dom Lambert Beauduin:

> I was at Chevetogne, the new Amay, at the time, where I had been invited to preach a retreat to the monks. The death of Pius XII was announced without any warning. With a zeal that may seem over-hasty, and trusting in Italian radio, I seem to remember that we even sang a *panykhide* for the repose of his soul a good twelve hours before his death. That evening, in the cell to which the aged Dom Lambert Beauduin had returned at the end of his earthly journey, we took part in one of those last conversations, which were broken by silences when exhaustion intervened, although it never hindered the flow of his thought. "If they elect Roncalli," he said "all will be saved. He will be capable of calling a Council and canonizing ecumenism..." Silence fell, then, with a return of his old mischievousness, he said with flashing eyes, "I believe we have a good chance. Most of the cardinals are not sure what to do. They are capable of voting for him."[115]

And Fr. Bouyer concludes: "He was to live long enough to greet in John XXIII the first realization of his unconquerable hopes."

The reader will remember that Msgr. Roncalli and Dom Lambert Beauduin had been friends since 1924. An episode from their friendship will give us an indication of how well founded Dom Beauduin's hopes were. Fr. Bouyer writes:

> When Msgr. Roncalli suddenly became Nuncio in Paris, in a somewhat unexpected manner,[116] he [Dom Beauduin] went to visit him, not without wondering if Joseph, with a ring on his finger and clad in the purple, would recognize his humble brother. He was not left long in doubt. He had scarcely handed in his card when he heard from the anti-chamber the well-known voice: "Lamberto!... Come in! Come in!" A moment later he was enfolded in one of the warm embraces that were to become so famous. And before he knew what was happening, he heard the

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[115] Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin,* pp.180-81.

[116] Msgr. Roncalli was Papal Nuncio in Paris from 1944 to 1953.

> Nuncio say, "There! Sit down and tell us your adventures." A friendly shove made him step backwards and upwards, and he found himself seated on a particularly magnificent throne. His friend sat down on a chair opposite him, roaring with laughter, and Dom Beauduin began to tell him of his trials and tribulations with Rome....Gradually he realized that he was holding forth from the heights of the papal throne, which compulsorily adorned the residence of every legate... At that time they had no idea that this farcical situation would later gain a symbolic meaning.[117]

Dom Beauduin was well acquainted with John XXIII. As early as 1958 he recognized that he would canonize ecumenism and call a Council, a Council that would be a synthesis of Dom Beauduin's entire work, a synthesis of the "Ecumenical Movement" and the "Liturgical Movement." But the hour of the Council had not yet come, and first of all the new Pope wanted to complete the task of liturgical reform begun by his predecessor, and to extend its results to the whole liturgy. This was brought about by the *motu proprio Rubricarum Instructum* of July 25, 1960, which included the following passage:

> In 1956, when the preparatory studies for the general reform of the liturgy were in progress, Our Predecessor wished to hear the opinions of the bishops on the subject of a future reform of the Roman Breviary. After careful consideration of their replies, he decided that a general and systematic reform of the rubrics of the Breviary and Missal should be undertaken, and he entrusted this task to the special Commission of experts already appointed by him to study the general reform of the liturgy. Therefore, after We had decreed, under the inspiration of God, that the Ecumencial Council should be convoked, We frequently considered what should be done concerning this work begun by Our Predecessor. After long and mature examination, We have come to the decision that the more basic principles affecting the general liturgical restoration should be proposed to the Fathers of the forthcoming Ecumenical Council, but that the correction of the rubrics of the Breviary and Missal, already mentioned, should not be delayed any longer.[118]

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[117] Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin*, pp.180-181.

[118] *Motu Proprio Rubricarum Instructum*, in *Liturgie*, nos.891-892.

This liturgical reform came into force on January 1, 1961. Fundamentally, it consists of nothing more than the extension to the entire liturgy of the rubrics that had been given a "trial run" in 1955 and 1956 by the *periti* of the Commission for the Reform of the Liturgy, and, as such, deserves the same judgment as that given to the reforms of Pius XII. The principal victim of this over-hasty reform, however, was the Breviary. Pope John XXIII was well aware of this, since he made the following rather naive comment:

> In addition We paternally exhort all who are bound to the recitation of the Divine Office to do this in such a manner that the omissions in the Divine Office caused by its abbreviation are compensated for by an increased diligence and devotion in its recital. As in places the readings from the Holy Fathers have also been somewhat curtailed, We strongly urge all the clergy to keep in their hands, for careful reading and meditation, the volumes of the Fathers, which are filled with such wisdom and piety.[119]

The reform of 1960 is thus to a certain extent a synthesis of the preconciliar reforms. Despite the painful omissions and the notorious blunders, the Catholic liturgy remained essentially unchanged. The great error of John XXIII was to entrust to the Council the recasting of fundamental liturgical principles. From that moment, the reforms were totally inspired by a new conception of the liturgy. It is true that this conception was already "rumbling" in the preconciliar reforms, but it was mastered and held in check by the vigilant orthodoxy of Pius XII.

THE GROWING UNEASINESS OF THE FAITHFUL IN FACE OF THESE CHANGES

Today, all these preconciliar reforms seem to have been largely superseded; much more drastic changes have since utterly overthrown the liturgy. Despite this, however, one should not forget that even these early reforms caused a considerable amount of confusion among the faithful. A witness of this is the little book by Fr. Roguet, *On nous change la religion* (they're changing our religion).[120] This book expresses the uneasiness of Catholics in the

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[119] *Ibid.*

years 1958-60 when faced with the liturgical changes. The faithful clearly felt that behind these details of ritual there lay the intention of the reformers—though not of the Pope—to change the entire religious behavior of Catholics, and even their faith.

Fr. Roguet makes no secret of this disquiet.

> Our gestures and our apparently most insignificant liturgical actions manifest and nourish our faith. Our manner of assisting at Mass and whether we receive the Eucharist in one way or another are not therefore matters of indifference. These modes of behavior involve and at the same time form our faith. Changes in the times of Mass and the Divine Office, in the rules for receiving Communion, or in the arrangement of the altar can thus have far-reaching consequences. Those who complain that they are changing our religion are deeply aware of this.[121]

To end this section, let us again quote Fr. Roguet. This passage is the conclusion of his book, and contains the complete program of the neo-liturgists: to make us return to a primitive Church, which they envisage in a very Protestant manner by denying fifteen centuries of the Church's life. His final sentence already predicts the excommunication in practice of Catholics who remain faithful to tradition. The author writes:

> They are changing our religion. Not at all. It is simply a matter of liberating our religion from habits which, although ancient, are not necessarily venerable. It is a matter of returning to the fountainhead of the Gospel. Here is true childhood. If we do not know how to return to it, we shall not enter the kingdom of heaven.[122]

Thus, by 1960, the deviated Liturgical Movement had already won many battles, but had not yet won the war. Its leaders, with friends in high places, had taken advantage of the pastoral concern of the popes in order to shake the ancient stability of the Catholic liturgy, and subtly to introduce their new liturgical concepts throughout the rites. Pope John XXIII had announced the meeting of an Ecumenical Council which would discuss, among other things, the principles of liturgical reform. This Council

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[120] Aimon-Marie Roguet, O.P., *On nous change la religion*, Collection "*Tout le monde en parle*" (Cerf, 1959).

[121] *Ibid.*, p.8.

[122] *Ibid.*, p.123.

would truly be, in the words of Cardinal Suenens, "the year 1789 in the Church."

CHAPTER 7

THE FINAL BATTLE

On the news of the death of Pius XII, the aged Dom Lambert Beauduin confided to Fr. Bouyer: "If they were to elect Roncalli all would be saved. He would be capable of summoning a Council to consecrate ecumenism."[123] To consecrate ecumenism, yes, indeed, but also to consecrate the Liturgical Movement, such would be the task of the long-awaited Council. For more than forty years the new liturgists had been spreading their errors, they had succeeded in influencing a considerable portion of the Catholic hierarchy, and they had won some encouraging reforms from the Holy See. All this patient underground work was about to bear fruit. The liturgical revolutionaries took advantage of the Constitution on the Liturgy to get their ideas accepted. Then, when they were appointed members of the Consilium, they only had to draw the extreme conclusions from the principles of Vatican II.

In order to complete this study of the Liturgical Movement, it therefore remains for us to trace in broad outline the stages in the final assault of the revolutionaries on the Catholic liturgy. Finally, we will show that the Conciliar liturgy, promulgated by Pope Paul VI, is only the inevitable conclusion, the expression, and the synthesis of all the deviations of the Liturgical Movement.

THE LAST PREPARATIONS BEFORE THE ASSAULT

Everybody knew since 1960 the plans of John XXIII for the liturgy: "We have reached the decision that the fundamental principles concerning the reform of the liturgy should be presented to the Fathers of the forthcoming Council."[124] Thus, the Pope was not going to be content with reforming details, but aimed at a fundamental reform the discussion of whose principles was to be entrusted to the Fathers of the Council.

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[123] Bouyer, *Dom Lambert Beauduin,* pp.180-181.

[124] Decree *Rubricarum Instructum*, July 25, 1960, *Liturgie*, nos.891-892.

It was therefore necessary to act quickly and put to full use the few months which remained before the opening of the Council. The scope of this study is too limited for us to recall more than one example of the increased activity of the reformers. We will take as our typical new liturgist Dom Adrien Nocent, a Benedictine monk of Maredsous, born in 1913. In 1961 this former pupil of the Parisian Superior Liturgical Institute was appointed Professor at the St. Anselm Pontifical Institute of Liturgy in Rome. It was in this venerable Benedictine university founded by Leo XIII, where Dom Beauduin had also taught, that Dom Nocent prepared for the Council. His book, *The Future of the Liturgy*, published in the same year, 1961, with the *imprimatur* of Msgr. Suenens, will enable us to judge the state of mind of the new liturgists on the eve of Vatican II.

To begin with, here is an extract from the introduction, where we find a caricature of the true faithful, then a most charitable description of the progressive Catholic, and finally the exact course of the middle way that the Council was to take as a step towards further reforms. But let the author speak for himself:

> One should not, however, imagine that all Catholics are waiting in vibrant hope for a Council which will study the question posed by liturgical life in the Church of our time. There are still people, and indeed more of them than one would believe possible, who ask what reason there is for changing practices which are already old and firmly anchored in their ancient customs. There is a fierce opposition among them to anything that might disturb a religion which they have worn into their own shape and which gives them an obsessive contentment, just as one feels lazily relaxed in an old suit or a pair of well worn shoes. Why disturb practices with which they are comfortable and from which they believe they get real spiritual benefit?
>
> The opposite of this immovability is another attitude, too impatient and sometimes unenlightened, which celebrates in advance, every "iconoclasm" and every burning of old idols. It confuses lazy routine with true legitimate tradition and loves change for its own sake as the supreme manifestation of vitality. However, its violence sometimes has to be excused and explained by a tormenting pastoral anguish....
>
> Parallel to the ecumenical problems, we know that there is included in the agenda for the forthcoming Council a *revision* of the *liturgy* and study groups have already gone to work. It

> would, however, be courting disillusionment to expect ready-made solutions and a complete recasting. Just as much as passing firm resolutions, the role of the Council will be to give an impetus to such-and-such a trend in such-and-such a search for adaptation, or to block another tendency which may be legitimate but is judged inopportune.[125]

The reader will have to forgive this over-long quotation, but it is so revealing that we could not leave it out. Two years before, Dom Nocent was disclosing the plan of the revolutionaries: the "traditionalist" opposition was still too strong at that time for an immediate upheaval in the liturgy to be thinkable and, to start with, it was necessary to be content with principles of reform acceptable to the "traditionalist" persuasion in order later to entrust the application of those principles to representatives of the "progressive" persuasion. Adrian Nocent well knew that the Council could not accept straightaway a new liturgy of the Mass, but he also knew that this new liturgy—on which he had been working—would be promulgated later in the name of the Council, which is why the whole of the rest of his book is about the liturgy of the future.

Let us pause a moment with the "Mass of Adrien Nocent" so that the reader may appreciate that in 1961 the new Mass had already been conceived: it was most inopportune in 1963, but was promulgated in 1969.

The St. Anselm professor reaffirms to begin with the fundamental principle of the new rite: "A great variety of celebrations would thus be permitted around the central nucleus which would always be respected and would be celebrated on its own on ferial days." The altars should be facing the people, without a cloth except during celebrations, the preparatory prayers should be simplified, the readings increased, and the "universal prayer" restored. The Offertory, after the Creed recited only on Sundays, is very abbreviated. The celebrant merely raises the oblations in silence. The chalice is put on the right of the host, the pall is optional and the incensing rapid. The Lavabo only takes place if the celebrant has dirty hands, since "one should avoid this facile symbolism which is of no great interest." The paten remains on the

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[125] Adrian Nocent, *Avenir de la liturgie* (Éditions Universitaires, 1961).

altar, the *Orate Fratres* is recited aloud and the Secret in a loud voice. The Canon is stripped of all prayers of intercession and all the *Per Christum Dominum nostrums*, there are fewer signs of the Cross and genuflections, the Canon is recited aloud and even in the vernacular, the *Pater Noster* is recited by all and at the *Agnus Dei* everyone shakes hands while the fraction of the Host takes place. The fraction of all the hosts takes place after the breaking of the loaf of ordinary bread, communion is under both kinds, taken standing and in the hand. Then come the blessing and *Ite Missa est*, no more last gospel, and no prayers of Leo XIII. Our reformer goes on to review all the sacraments and proposes reforms of them as well, which it would take too long to repeat here, but which are substantially the reformed sacraments of the Conciliar Church.[126]

Thus, in 1961, Adrien Nocent knew very precisely the plan of the Conciliar revolution. "To block the path of such and such a tendency, which is perhaps legitimate but judged inopportune"—in other words the Council was going to make a schema which would open the door to innovators and seem to close it to ultra-reformers, but only for a time. The plan would unfold thus: moderate reforming tendency (1964), progressively becoming more pronounced (1967) in order to give place eventually to the "ultra-reformers" (1969).

THE REVOLUTIONARY STORM

Of all the preparatory schemas of the Council, the only one not to be rejected was that on liturgy. In fact, the progressive wing could not be other than satisfied with a text whose principal author was Fr. Bugnini, C.M., Secretary of the Preparatory Commission on the Liturgy. Let us give the names of some members of this Commission: Abbot Bernard Capelle, O.S.B., Dom Bernard Botte (who was seventy years of age in 1963), Canon A.-G. Martimort, Fr. Anton Hänggi (Bishop of Basel in 1978, but then a professor at Fribourg in Switzerland), Fr. Pierre-Marie Gy, O.P., Fr. Pierre Jounel. The President of this Commission was the elderly Cardinal Gaetano Cicognani, who opposed this schema, which he regarded as very dangerous, with all his strength. In

[126] For the details of the "Mass of Adrien Nocent," see *ibid.*, pp.119 -171.

order to be presented in the Council chamber, the draft schema had to bear the signature of the Cardinal. John XXIII obliged him to sign it. "Later," wrote Fr. Wiltgen, "an expert of the preconciliar Commission on the liturgy stated that the old Cardinal was on the verge of tears and waved the document, saying: 'They want me to sign this and I don't know what to do!' Then he put the text on his desk, took a pen and signed. Four days later he was dead."[127]

It was October 22, 1962, when the draft schema was presented before the Council, and it was December 4, 1963, when the new Pope Paul VI[128] promulgated the constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. It had been approved by 2,151 votes to 4.

For a detailed study of this constitution, we refer our readers to the works of Pierre Tilloy[129] and Jean Vaquié,[130] contenting ourselves here with a summary of their thoughts.

The Characteristics of this Constitution

1) It is an ***outline law***, that is to say it lays down only the main features of a liturgical doctrine which will inspire the Consilium and the national and diocesan Commissions to work out the new liturgy (§§44-45).

2) It inaugurates a ***fundamental transformation*** of the liturgy; in particular it announces the revision of the ritual of the Mass (§50), a new rite of concelebration (§58), the revision of the rites of Baptism (§66), of Confirmation (§71), of Penance (§72), of Ordination (§76), of Marriage (§77), of the Sacramentals (§79), *etc.*

3) It constitutes a ***compromise*** between traditionalism and progressivism, which it seeks to balance against each other. To satisfy the traditionalist majority without firm convictions, it pays lip service to the fundamental principles of the liturgy, but with-

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[127] Ralph Wiltgen, S.V.D., *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber* (Éd. du Cèdre, 1975).

[128] John XXIII died on June 3, 1963, at 7:49pm.

[129] *De l'hérésie anti-liturgique de nos jours*. Unpublished paper of May 1965. To the best of our knowledge, the first and most lucid reaction to the conciliar Constitution.

[130] Vaquié, *La revolution liturgique*, 1971.

out any practical application. For the active progressivist minority, there is an assurance of further evolution in a progressivist direction. This applies especially to the all-important questions of the relation between worship and teaching in the liturgy (§33) and the use of Latin (§36, 54, 101).

"An outline law inaugurating a fundamental transformation and inspired by two contradictory doctrines, this is how the liturgical constitution of December 4, 1963, presents itself," writes M. Vaquié.[131] Thus, the wish expressed by John XXIII in 1960[132] was realized in that the Fathers of the Council had pronounced on "the fundamental principles concerning liturgical reform." The liturgical revolution was virtually accomplished, the constituent principles of the liturgy were achieved, and the new liturgy resulting from the constitution was going to be *didactic*, *evolutionary*, *democratic*, and *free*. It only remained to see this reform through; Pope Paul VI was going to devote all his energies against the traditionalist wing in the interpretation of the constitution. Accepted by a sizable majority of bishops who were faithful but lacking in convictions, or a least in liturgical knowledge, the conciliar Constitution on the Liturgy was to serve for the destruction of the Catholic liturgy. But let us see the stages in the agony.

THE MACHINE IS SET IN MOTION AND ARRIVES AT THE *NOVUS ORDO MISSAE*

On the January 25, 1964, Pope Paul VI, by the *motu proprio Sacram Liturgiam*, put into immediate effect certain provisions of the constitution and announced the creation of a special commission charged with bringing it into operation. On February 29, 1964, the Pope created the *Consilium ad Exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia* (Committee for Implementing the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy). He gave the appointments in it to the most advanced elements in the Liturgical Movement, in particular the presidency to Cardinal Lercaro and the secretaryship to Fr. Bugnini.[133] The Consilium can be compared quite closely to the Committee of Public Safety in the French Revolu-

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[131] *Ibid.*, p.39.
[132] Decree *Rubricarum Instructum.*

tion; it was to function until 1969 as a veritable special court, stripping the Sacred Congregation of Rites of nearly all it powers. Pope Paul VI intervened personally on October 20, 1964, and January 7, 1965, to support the Consilium when it was in conflict with the Roman Congregation.

Let Dom Botte explain the organization of the Consilium:

> The Council was made up of two different groups. There were, to start with, forty members properly so-called—mostly cardinals or bishops—who had voting rights. Then there were the group of experts much more numerous charged with the preparatory work. Most of the sessions were held in the large, ground floor chamber of the Palazzo Santa Marta behind St. Peter's Basilica.[134]

Several experts were grouped together to work under the direction of a relator. Dom Botte was responsible for the revision of the first volume of the Pontifical and it is to him, at least in large part, that we owe the disappearance of the Minor Orders as well as the new ritual of Ordination and the new rite of Confirmation.[135]

Msgr. Wagner, director of the Liturgical Institute of Treves, was the relator of the group responsible for the reform of the Mass, whose most active members were the following: Prof. Balthasar Fischer, Msgr. Theodor Schnitzler, Fr. Joseph Andreas Jungmann, S.J., Fr. Louis Bouyer, Fr. Gy, Dom CiprianoVagaggini, O.S.B Camal., and Dom Botte.

On September 26, 1964, the Consilium authorized the optional use of the vernacular in all the rites except the Preface and the Canon of the Mass; the psalm *Judica me* and the prayers after the Mass disappeared, numerous rubrics of the Mass were modified, and finally, for the first time, powers over the liturgy were entrusted to Episcopal Conferences. The decree came into force on March 7, 1965. The revolution became even more radical on

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[133] Fr. Bugnini declared in *L'Osservatore Romano* of March 19, 1965, that "The prayer of the Church should not be a cause of spiritual discomfort for anyone," and that it was necessary "to push aside any stone that could constitute even a shadow of a risk of stumbling or of displeasure for our separated brethren."

[134] Dom Botte, *Le mouvement liturgique*, p.156.

[135] *Ibid.*, pp.165-188.

May 4, 1967, with the Instruction *Tres Abhinc Annos*, which authorized the recitation of the Canon of the Mass aloud and in the vernacular.

But that was not enough for the innovators because the Tridentine Mass, although mutilated and reformed, remained an obstacle to ecumenism or the universal Christianity which was so sought after. Cardinal Lercaro and Fr. Bugnini had not wasted their time since the Council; in three years they had succeeded in settling a new liturgy of the Mass, conforming in all respects with the *desiderata* of the "liturgico-ecumenical movement." The quintessence of the anti-liturgical heresy was about to be born. This new rite was baptized "Normative Mass," and it was presented to the bishops assembled in synod in Rome on October 24, 1967.

Here is the account that the *Courrier de Rome* gave of the event:

> A first at the Sistine Chapel: we refer to the Normative Mass produced in the studios of the Lercaro-Bugnini Commission. With thoughtful care the producers had insisted, before putting their invention to the vote of the Synod, upon putting on a general demonstration before the members. It had to be "tested." Before filming, it had been explained to the 183 prelates that they were to imagine themselves playing the part of parishioners attending the active, lucid, community-based, and simplified new Mass. Six seminarians were to form the *schola cantorum*, a lector would read the two lessons plus an extra one, and Fr. Annibale Bugnini would dedicate himself in person to celebrating the Mass and pronouncing the homily.
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> This "Normative Mass" was to be called upon to replace the one that St. Gregory the Great, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Philip Neri, Bossuet, and the Curé of Ars celebrated without ever suspecting that they were celebrating a Mass that was passive, thoughtless, individualist, and complicated.
>
> The Normative Mass suppresses the *Kyrie*, the *Gloria*, and the Offertory. It pulverizes the *Confiteor*. It skates over the intercession of the saints, the calling to mind of the souls in purgatory, and everything which expresses the personal oblation of the human priest. It offers four interchangeable Canons. It adjusts the words of the Consecration. And, of course, it replaces Latin with the national language.

> In order to relieve any doubt in the minds of our readers, we should make it clear that this "experimental" Mass claimed to be a real Mass, a true Sacrifice with the Real Presence of the Holy Victim of Calvary.[136]

The bishops rejected this Mass by their vote of October 27. To the question: "Does the general structure of the Mass known as normative, as described in the report and the response, have the approval of the Fathers?" The replies were: *placet* (affirmative), 71; *non placet* (negative), 43; *placet juxta modum* (affirmative with reservations), 62; abstentions: 4.[137]

The comparative failure of the *Missa Normativa* did not discourage the Consilium.[138] The Pope was to bring his authority into the reckoning. In fact, on April 3, 1969, Paul VI proclaimed the apostolic constitution *Missale Romanum* by which he reformed the Rite of the Mass and forcibly introduced the *Missa Normativa* almost unamended. On April 6, the Sacred Congregation of Rites promulgated the New Order of Mass (*Novus Ordo Missae*), with its *Institutio Generalis*; the new Missal was to come into force on November 30, 1969.

Now that the Consilium had brought the liturgical revolution to fruition it could disappear. On May 8, 1969, Pope Paul VI, by the apostolic constitution *Sacra Rituum Congregatio*, substituted for the old Congregation of Rites two new congregations, one entitled "for the causes of Saints" and the other "for divine worship," this latter inheriting some powers from the former dicastery and absorbing the Consilium. The Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship was Cardinal Gut and the Secretary was Annibale Bugnini.

Thank goodness, the reformers had gone a little too far and too fast, and this brought a salutary traditionalist reaction. Eventually realizing where they were being led, faithful Catholics reacted. On September 3, 1969, Cardinals Ottaviani and Bacci wrote their famous open letter to Pope Paul VI, presenting the Pope with the *Brief Critical Examination of the Novus Ordo Missae.*

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[136] *Le Courrier de Rome*, November 1, 1967.

[137] Cf. *Documentation Catholique*, 1967, cols.2077-2078.

[138] For a mysterious reason, Cardinal Lercaro was then replaced by Cardinal Beno Gut, who in the words of Dom Botte "was no bright spark"—*n'était pas une lumière* (*sic*).

From that date the Catholic resistance was to become what we know about, thanks above all to the firmness and intrepid zeal of His Excellency Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre.

Unmasked by this open letter, Fr. Bugnini announced, on November 18, a new edition of the *Institutio Generalis*, "for a better pastoral and catechetical understanding," a new edition which is still as bad as the first[139] and leaves unchanged the rite itself. For his part, Pope Paul VI tried on November 19 and 26 to reassure the faithful. Already on October 20, the Congregation for Divine Worship had published the Instruction *De Constitutione Missale Romanum Gradatim ad Effectum Deducenda*, by which the introduction of the New Order of Mass was postponed to November 28, 1971, and latitude was allowed to episcopal conferences to fix a later date. We know that several European bishops' conferences profited from this occasion to forbid the traditional Mass. And did not Paul VI declare the same thing at the Consistory of May 1976?

When leaders reach the point of demanding the unconditional submission of their subjects to their arbitrary will in the most flagrant contempt of the laws, this is because their conscience is not very easy, and also because they feel weak—weak, because they have been unmasked. But we must go on exposing them and sounding the alarm both in and out of season.

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[139] Cf. *Itinéraires*, February 1978, Documents.

General Conclusion

Thus our study of the Liturgical Movement finishes with the promulgation of the *Novus Ordo Missae*. The New Mass is, in fact, like a synthesis of all the errors and deviations of this great current of ideas. Crushed by St. Pius X, the Modernists understood that they could not penetrate the Church by theology, that is, by a clear *exposé* of their doctrines. They had recourse to the Marxist notion of *praxis*, having understood that the Church could become modernist through action, especially through the sacred action of the liturgy. Revolution always uses the living energies of the organism itself, taking control of them little by little and finally using them to destroy the body under attack. It is the well-known process of the Trojan horse.

The Liturgical Movement of Dom Guéranger, of St. Pius X, and of the Belgian monasteries, in origin at any rate, was a considerable force in the Church, a prodigious means of spiritual rejuvenation which, moreover, brought forth good fruits. The Liturgical Movement was thus the ideal Trojan horse for the modernist revolution. It was easy for all the revolutionaries to hide themselves in the belly of such a large carcass. Before *Mediator Dei*, who among the Catholic hierarchy was concerned about liturgy? What vigilance was applied to detecting this particularly subtle form of practical Modernism?

Thus it was that from the 1920's onward, and particularly during and after the Second World War, the Liturgical Movement became the "main sewer of all the heresies." Dom Beauduin first of all favored in an exaggerated way the teaching and preaching aspect of the liturgy, and then conceived the idea of making it serve the "Ecumenical Movement" to which he was devoted body and soul. Dom Parsch tied the movement to Biblical renewal. Dom Casel made it the vehicle of a fanatical antiquarianism and of a completely personal conception of the "Christian mystery." These first revolutionaries were largely overtaken by the generation of the new liturgists of the various preconciliar liturgical commissions.

After the Second World War the movement became a force that nothing could stop. Protected from on high by eminent prelates, the new liturgists took control little by little of the Commission for Reform of the Liturgy founded by Pius XII, and influenced the reforms devised by this Commission at the end of the pontificate of Pius XII and at the beginning of that of John XXIII. Already masters, thanks to the Pope, of the preconciliar liturgical commission, the new liturgists got the Fathers of the Council to accept a self-contradictory and ambiguous document, the constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Pope Paul VI, Cardinal Lercaro and Fr. Bugnini, themselves very active members of the Italian Liturgical Movement, directed the efforts of the Consilium which culminated in the promulgation of the New Mass.

This new rite carries on in its turn all the errors which have come forth since the beginning of the deviations of the "Movement." This rite is ecumenical, antiquarian, community-based, democratic, and almost totally desacralized; it also echoes the theological deviations of the modernists and the Protestants: toning down the sense of the Real Presence and diminution of the ministerial role of the priesthood, of the sacrificial character of the Mass, and especially of its propitiatory character. The Eucharist becomes much more a communal love feast than the renewal of the Sacrifice of the Cross.

By this new rite the modernists and revolutionaries of all kinds seek to transform the law of the faithful. Msgr. Dwyer admitted as much in 1967: "The liturgical reform is in a very deep sense the key to the *aggiornamento*. Make no mistake, this is the starting point of the *revolution*."[140] Already, in 1965, Pope Paul VI had not hidden his intentions from the faithful:

> Thus you can prove that you understand how the new method of religious instruction, which the present liturgical renewal is intended to install, takes its place as the central motor of the great movement established in the constitutional principles of the Church of God.[141]

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[140] Press Conference of Msgr. Dwyer, Archbishop of Birmingham, October 23, 1967, *Documentation Catholique*, 1967, col. 2072.

[141] Speech of January 13, 1965.

This much is certain, therefore, that revolution and modernism have penetrated the City of God by way of the liturgy. The Liturgical Movement has been the Trojan horse whereby the disciples of Loisy have occupied the Catholic Church.

It is to be hoped that this study has given the reader a better understanding of the gravity of the liturgical revolution and the perversity of this new rite of Mass, the expression and the symbol of the anti-liturgical heresy of modern times. Let us hope especially that we have strengthened our convictions: the Church is occupied. It is a matter of throwing out the adversary, reminding ourselves all the while that the strength of the wicked comes from the slackness of the good. Our unfailing attachment to the Roman and Catholic liturgy of all time and our complete faithfulness to the principles of the authors of the true Liturgical Movement, Dom Guéranger and St. Pius X, are the guarantee of victory.

APPENDIX

TAIZÉ AND THE NEW ORDER OF MASS

INTRODUCTION

On April 10, 1970, when Pope Paul VI received the members of the Consilium for the last time, his picture was taken with the six Protestant observers who had been involved in rewriting the Catholic liturgy. This photograph illustrated the cover of *La Documentation Catholique* on May 3rd. Even so, Protestant influence on the New Order of Mass was still being debated five years after its introduction. For instance, in 1976, an exchange of letters was published in *La Libre Belgique* between Consilium member Dom Botte and His Grace Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. Dom Botte vehemently insisted that, despite the undeniable presence of Protestant "observers," there was no Protestant influence on the drafting of the new liturgy.[142] Archbishop Lefebvre refuted his claim outright, citing statements of approbation made by Protestants as well as the famous intervention of Cardinals Ottaviani and Bacci.[143] Four years after this debate, a powerful testimony to the truth of Archbishop Lefebvre's assertions came into the author's possession. It was a document, the ritual used at Taizé to celebrate the Eucharist in 1959. The document is reproduced here in its entirety with permission from the Taizé Community.[144] The reader will quickly see that this Protestant rite of 1959 prefigures the *Novus Ordo Missae* of 1969. Archbishop Lefebvre was right: the

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[142] Dom Bernard Botte, O.S.B., "La liturgie de Vatican II: Une mise au point," *La Libre Belgique,* August 25, 1976, and "Quelques précisions sur les prières eucharistiques de Vatican II," September 15, 1976.

[143] Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre, "Dans un nouveau droit de réponse, Mgr. Lefebvre nous écrit: La Nouvelle Messe est d'esprit Protestant," *La Libre Belgique*, September 25, 1976.

[144] This text is included as an historical document to show the form of prayer that was in use at Taizé in the 1950's and 1960's. It does not reflect the prayer of Taizé as it is today.

Protestants collaborated actively—whether directly or indirectly matters little—in the reform of the Mass.

For readers unfamiliar with it, a brief history of Taizé is included in this English edition in addition to the Taizé liturgy of 1959.

A BRIEF HISTORY

The Taizé movement began as a project of Roger Louis Schultz-Marsauche, born in Switzerland in 1915, the son of a Lutheran minister, and now known to the English-speaking world as Roger Schultz or simply "Brother Roger." Schultz was active in the Swiss Student Christian Movement while a seminarian in Switzerland; there he studied monastic life and dreamed of establishing an "ecumenical" monastic community. Popular history holds that Schultz left his native Switzerland after the occupation of northern France by German troops in 1940; the German invasion of France evidently awakened in him a desire to assist war refugees while pursuing his "monastic" aim. Thus, in August, 1940, Schultz moved to the small town of Taizé, located between Lyons and Dijon in rural Burgundy, just south of the line dividing occupied from Vichy France. Most of the refugees Schultz received at Taizé were those fleeing into Vichy France due to political hardship; many were Jews. When Germany invaded southern France in 1942, Schultz returned to Switzerland, fearing German retribution. In Geneva he was joined by Max Thurian, "theologian" of the Swiss Reformed Church, and Pierre Souveran, an agricultural engineer. The group returned to Taizé in 1944, and by 1947 the first "brothers" took "life vows [of] celibacy, community of property, and acceptance of the authority of the community."[145]

According to a 1959 article in *Theology Today*, the small Taizé community quickly became an active element of ecumenical, liturgical, biblical, and evangelical movements in France. Their "twelfth-century church, built by Cluny monks, was restored along lines of liturgical reform."[146] Taizé quickly established ties

[145] Malcolm Boyd, "The Taizé Community," *Theology Today*, January 1959, vol.15, no.4. The Taizé website maintains that the first vows were taken on Easter, 1949.

with ecumenical movements in French Catholic circles and with the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

Meanwhile, the two co-founders, Schultz and Thurian, had as quickly become ecumenical icons in their own right.

Schultz's personal achievement was Taizé itself, from its outset a non-confessional "parable of community" (as he called it) which emphasized life in common over questions of dogma: "In living a common life," he wrote, "have we any other end than to unify men committed to following Christ into a living sign of the unity of the Church?"[147] Just as the true Church of Jesus Christ is His Mystical Body incarnate in the world, so too would Taizé become the ecumenical movement incarnate: "The ecumenical imperative is fundamental to an understanding of Taizé. Representing various church traditions within itself, it is, in effect, a rather advanced incarnational witness of ecumenical endeavor."[148]

Max Thurian (1921-1996), a Reformed Church pastor born in Geneva, was known as the "theologian of Taizé," and was for many years a member of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches. Under its auspices he edited the influential (in ecumenical circles) volume *Ecumenical Perspectives on Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, in conjunction with which was developed the infamous "Lima Liturgy" of 1982.

For those in the Catholic hierarchy evidently intent on abandoning the concept of ecumenism as renunciation of error and return to the Catholic fold, Taizé, Schultz, and Thurian became living examples of the kind of Christian reconciliation allegedly possible. During one of several audiences with Schultz, Pope John XXIII responded to a reference to Taizé by saying, "Ah, Taizé, that little springtime!" In spite of the fact that Thurian personally asked Pope Pius XII not to define the Assumption,[149] both he and Schultz were invited to observe the Second Vatican Council, where, according to Schultz, they had numerous private meetings with the Council fathers, to "study the evolution of the texts,

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[146] *Ibid.*

[147] Quoted in "The Spirituality of Taizé," by Bro. Patrick J. Burke, O.P., *Spirituality Today* (Autumn 1990), vol.42, no.3, pp.233-245.

[148] Malcolm Boyd, "The Taizé Community," *Theology Today*, January 1959, vol.15, no.4.

[149] Patrick Coffin, "On the Verge of a Dogma?" *EWTN News*, July 22, 1997.

write up notes, and give our point of view when asked."[150] It is well known that Thurian participated in the Consilium which revised the Roman rite; speaking of the Consilium's ecumenical fruit, he later declared, "It is now theologically possible for Protestants to use the same Mass as Catholics."[151]

Roman fascination with the Taizé experiment was not, however, reciprocated by a corresponding interest in the Roman religion by the Taizé founders. In 1975 Roger Schultz asked of Rome, "that a reconciliation come about *without requiring non-Catholics to repudiate their origins.* Even with truly...catholic communion in view, repudiation goes against love."[152] And Max Thurian expressed similar sentiments in 1976, asserting that "if a Protestant has the conviction that the Catholic Church, following the Second Vatican Council, rediscovered conformity with the apostolic Church, he can then consider himself to be a member of that Church without, however, renouncing his adherence to another ecclesial community."[153]

In spite of such indifferentism, the Holy Father deigned to grace Taizé with his presence on October 5, 1986, effectively inscribing his name on a long list of admiring visitors, including three Archbishops of Canterbury, Orthodox metropolitans, the fourteen Lutheran bishops of Sweden, and countless pastors from all over the world.[154] Thurian received Holy Orders in a semi-secret ceremony conducted by the former Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Ursi,[155] and was even later invited by John Paul II to join the International Theological Commission, and yet, according to the Taizé community "no abjuration of [his] Protestant religion took place[!]"[156]

It is even admitted by some Catholics that the change in Rome's attitude towards ecumenism was directly inspired by the

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[150] J.L. Gonzalez-Balado, *Le défi de Taizé* (Éditions du Seuil, 1977), p.13, quoted in *SiSiNoNo*, no.11, December 1994.

[151] *LaCroix*, May 30, 1969.

[152] *Ibid.*

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] According to the Taizé website (http://www.taize.fr/en/index.htm).

[155] Reported in *Le Monde*, May 12, 1988. The ordination was performed on May 3, 1987.

[156] "Max Thurian, prêtre catholique...et toujours pasteur Protestant," *Présent*, May 19, 1988 (quoted in *SiSiNoNo*, no.11, December 1994).

work of the Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, through which Thurian accomplished so much of his ecumenical work in the 1980's:

> ...the Roman Catholic church changed her understanding of what we now call the ecumenical enterprise....Let me say that this huge change of Roman Catholic mentality is certainly in great part due to the high quality of the work done by the World Council of Churches, and especially Faith and Order.[157]

Such a change of mentality was no doubt welcomed by the Taizé founders, and in some fashion accepted by Pope John Paul II. Thurian once suggested that "unity today in the churches exists as we renounce all our divisive ways, only holding to the fundamental faith which saves and joins us."[158] In 1986 the Pope congratulated the members of the Taizé community for "desiring to be [them]selves a 'parable of community,' [that] will help all whom [they] meet to be faithful to their denominational ties, the fruit of their education and their choice in conscience."

After the death of John XXIII, his brother, Giuseppe Roncalli, visited Taizé. During his visit, Roncalli remarked to his grandson, "It was my brother the Pope who began what will come out of Taizé."

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[157] J. M.-R. Tillard, O.P., "Rome and Ecumenism," a paper prepared for a Faith and Order consultation with Younger Theologians held at Turku, Finland, 3-11 August 1995.

[158] *La Croix*, January 26, 1984.

THE EUCHARISTIC LITURGY OF TAIZÉ [IN 1959][159]

Sundays and Festivals

Key:

P: Prior (or his deputy)
C: Celebrant
D: Deacon
SD: Sub-deacon
L: Lector
Ca: Cantor
W: The whole community
V and R: Two parts of the community alternating

Introit

(Introit of the day, psalm, and antiphon)

Invocation

C: In the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.
Our help is in the Name of the Lord.
W: Who hath made heaven and earth.[160]

Confession

C: I confess to God Almighty, in the communion of the saints of heaven and of the earth, and to you my brethren, that I have sinned exceedingly in thought, word, and deed: through my fault, my own fault, my own great fault; wherefore I beseech you, my brethren, in the communion of the saints of heaven and of the earth, to pray for me to the Lord our God.
W: May the Almighty God have mercy upon thee, forgive thee thy sins, and bring thee to everlasting life.
C: Amen.
W: I confess ...
C: May the Almighty God have mercy upon you, forgive you your sins, and bring you to everlasting life.
W: Amen.

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[159] All rights reserved by the Taizé Community.
[160] On the First Sunday in Advent and the First Sunday in Lent the Ten Commandments (Exod. 20: 1-17) may be recited here.

Kyrie

W: Lord, have mercy.
Christ, have mercy.
Lord, have mercy.

Absolution

C: May each one of you acknowledge himself to be indeed a sinner,
humbling himself before God,
and believe that it is the Father's will to have mercy upon him in Jesus Christ;
to all who thus repent
and seek Jesus Christ for their salvation,
I declare the absolution of their sin
✠ in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

(*The Gloria is then sung*) [161]

(*On certain solemn festivals, as during the seasons of Christmas and Easter, the liturgy may be as follows*)

Introit

Invocation

C: Blessed be the Kingdom of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, world without end.
W: Amen.

Litany of the *Kyrie*

(Before saying... "let us pray to the Lord," the deacon may add particular intentions)

D: In peace let us pray to the Lord ...
For the peace that is from above and for the salvation of our lives,
let us pray to the Lord,

---

[161] Except in Advent and Lent when the Collect follows immediately.

W: Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy).
D: For the peace of the whole world, the life of the Churches and their unity,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy).
D: That we may celebrate the liturgy in the house of God with faith, fervor and obedience,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy).
D: For the ministers of the Church and the whole company of faithful people,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Christe eleison (Christ, have mercy).
D: For the governments of the nations, that they may ever be mindful of social justice and of the unity of mankind,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Christe eleison (Christ, have mercy).
D: For our community, our village (city), and our country, that the faith may there be renewed,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Christe eleison (Christ, have mercy).
D: For fair weather, abundant harvests and peaceful times,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy).
D: For all who travel and are in danger, the sick, the afflicted, the prisoners, and that they all may be delivered,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy).
D: That we may be freed from all tribulation, danger and necessity,
let us pray to the Lord,
W: Kyrie eleison (Lord, have mercy).
(*The Gloria is then sung*)

(*Or the invocation, confession and absolution could be said at the entrance to the church; and the Introit sung in procession to the choir, followed by the litany and Gloria*)

Gloria

(*Sung in chorus or antiphonally*)

Glory be to God in highest heaven,
And on earth peace to men,
We praise Thee,
We bless Thee,
We worship Thee,
We glorify Thee,
We give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory
O Lord God, Heavenly King, God the Father Almighty.
O Lord, the only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ,
O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father,
Thou that takest away the sin of the world,
have mercy upon us;
Thou that takest away the sin of the world,
receive our prayer;
Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father,
have mercy upon us.
For Thou only art holy,
Thou only art the Lord,
Thou only, O Christ,
With the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father!
Amen.

Collect

D: The Lord be with you.
W: And with thy spirit.
D: Let us pray *(silence, followed by the Collect of the day).*
W: Amen.

Old Testament Lesson

SD or **L:** Come, Holy Spirit of truth; lead us into all truth.
Old Testament Lesson from the book of ... or the Prophecy of ...

(The reading of the day ending with "Thanks be to God"!)

Hymn of Meditation

(*The Gradual of the day*[162] *sung responsorially*)

Ca:(*antiphon*)
W: (*repetition of the antiphon*)
Ca:(*verse*)
W: (*repetition o f the antiphon*)

Epistle

SD: Lord, sanctify us in the truth: Thy Word is truth....
Epistle of St. .... to ....
or Lesson from the Acts of the Apostles.
or Lesson from the Revelation.
(*The reading of the day ending with, "Glory be to Thee, O Lord*"!)

Alleluia

(The Alleluia of the day sung responsorially)
Ca: Alleluia.
W: Alleluia.
Ca: (verse)
W: Alleluia.

(*Or Tract of the day*[163] *sung by a cantor*)

Gospel

D: Cleanse my heart and my lips, O God Almighty,
who didst touch with a burning coal the lips of the prophet Isaiah;
in Thy gracious mercy sanctify me,
that I may faithfully proclaim Thy holy Gospel,
through Christ our Lord, Amen.
My brother, give me the blessing of the Lord.
P: The Lord be in thy heart and on thy lips, that thou mayest joyfully proclaim His Gospel.
D: Amen.

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[162] In Eastertide: First Alleluia.
[163] Septuagesima, Lent and Passiontide.

D: Let us hear the Wisdom of Christ!
The Gospel according to St....

(*The reading of the day, ending with,*
"*Praise be to Thee, O Christ!*")

Hymn after the Gospel

Sermon **Silence** **Hymn**

Creed

The Apostles' Creed or the Nicene Creed

C: Let us join together in brotherly love,
and with one heart and mind confess
the faith of the universal Church.
W: I believe in one God,
the Father Almighty,
Maker of heaven and earth,
and of all things visible and invisible.
I believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ,
the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of His Father
before all worlds:
God of God, Light of Light,
very God of very God,
begotten not made, being of one substance with the
Father, by whom all things were made.
Who for us men and for our salvation
came down from Heaven;
and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary,
and was made man;
and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate;
He suffered His passion and was placed in the tomb;
the third day He rose again, according to the Scriptures; and
ascended into Heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the
Father;
and He shall come again with glory to judge the living and
the dead,
whose Kingdom shall have no end.
I believe in the Holy Ghost,
The Lord and giver of life, who proceedeth from the

Father and the Son, who with the Father and the Son
together is worshipped and glorified;
who spake by the Prophets.
I believe in one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church.
I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins.
And I look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of
the world to come.
Amen.

Intercession

C: Let us intercede before God.
D: Most merciful Father,
we beseech Thee to accept our prayers and intercessions
through Jesus Christ,
Thy Son, our Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of the Church

D: We offer first our prayers for Thy holy, universal Church;
be pleased throughout the world to grant her peace, to
guard, unite and govern her;
we pray Thee also for all who are set in authority over her ...
and for all who, faithful to true doctrine, keep the Christian,
apostolic faith.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of the Living

D: Remember, O Lord,
Thy servants and Thy handmaidens,
and all who are round about us,
whose faith Thou knowest, whose devotion Thou hast
proved;
this sacrifice of praise with them we offer unto Thee,
the eternal, living and true God,
and we address to Thee our prayers for all men...
for the redemption of their lives,
and for their hope of liberation and of peace.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of the Saints

D: United in one communion ...
(*interpolation proper to certain festivals and their octave...*)
we commemorate before Thee the Blessed Virgin Mary,
Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, moreover we
commemorate Saint John the Baptist, the Forerunner,
(and) Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs Peter and Paul,
Andrew, James, John, Thomas, James, Philip,
Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Jude, Stephen, Matthias
and Barnabas, and all the Saints;
united with their faith, their lives and their prayer, we
beseech Thee to grant unto *us at all times the help of Thy strength and of Thy protection.*
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of the Dead

D: We also commemorate, O Lord,
Thy servants and Thy handmaidens, who have gone before
us with the sign of faith,
and are at peace ....
To all who rest in Christ, Thou grantest, Lord,
the place of refreshment, light and peace.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of Sinners

D: To us sinners also, Thy servants,
who put our trust in Thine infinite mercy,
grant a place in the community
of Thy holy Apostles and Martyrs and of all the Saints;
into whose company admit us,
not weighing our merit,
but amply pardoning us.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of Unity

D: As the bread which shall be broken,
was once scattered on the mountains,
and being gathered together became one,

so gather Thy Church together,
from the ends of the earth into Thy Kingdom.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Free Prayers

...through our High Priest, Jesus Christ.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

Memorial of the Kingdom

D: Come, Holy Spirit of charity
fill the hearts of Thy faithful people,
and kindle in them the fire of Thy love;
come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.
W: Maranatha, the Lord cometh.

Christmas
...and celebrating (the most sacred night) the most sacred day,
whereon the Blessed Virgin Mary
brought forth the Saviour of our world,
we commemorate before Thee
the Mother of our God and Lord Jesus Christ;
moreover we commemorate
Saint John the Baptist, the Forerunner,
and Thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs...

Epiphany
...and celebrating the most sacred day,
whereon Thine only-begotten Son, who shareth Thine eternity and glory
was visibly manifested with His body
in the reality of our human flesh,
we commemorate before Thee...

Easter
...and celebrating (the most sacred night) the most sacred day
of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ
in His human nature,
we commemorate before Thee...

Ascension

...and celebrating the most sacred day,
whereon Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord,
our corruptible nature united to Himself,
sat down at the right-hand of Thy glory,
we commemorate before Thee...

Pentecost

...and celebrating the most sacred day of Pentecost,
whereon the Holy Spirit appeared to the Apostles
in countless tongues of fire,
we commemorate before Thee...

OR, if it has not been said at the beginning:

Litany

D: In peace let us pray to the Lord...
For the peace that is from above and for the salvation of our lives... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: For the peace of the whole world, the life of the churches and their unity... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: That we may celebrate the liturgy in the house of God with faith, fervor and obedience... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: For the ministers of the Church and the whole company of faithful people... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: For the governments of the nations, that they may ever be mindful of social justice and of the unity of mankind... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: For our community, our village (city) and our country, that the faith there may be renewed... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: For fair weather, abundant harvests and peaceful times... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

D: For all who travel and are in danger, the sick, the afflicted, the prisoners, and that they all may be delivered...
let us pray to the Lord.
W: Lord, hear our prayer.
D: That we may be freed from all tribulation, danger and necessity... let us pray to the Lord.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

(free prayers)

...through our High Priest, Jesus Christ.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: Come Holy Spirit of charity,
fill the hearts of Thy faithful people,
and kindle in them the fire of Thy love;
come Lord Jesus, come quickly.
W: Maranatha, the Lord cometh.

OR, particularly when the litany has been said at the beginning:

Memento

D: In peace let us pray to the Lord...
Let us ask of the Lord peace in the Church,
and for each one of us the grace of a holy life;
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: Let us ask of the Lord brotherly love by the help of His Holy Spirit.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: Let us commit ourselves and each other to our God.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: Let us commemorate before the Lord
all who have left this world and have died in the faith...
May God bestow on them the crown of life in the day of resurrection
and judge them worthy with the righteous who have pleased Him
to enter into the joy of their Master.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

D: Let us recall before the Lord all His servants and witnesses in times past,
particularly Abraham, the father of all believers,
Moses, Samuel and David, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah and all the prophets,
John the Baptist, the Forerunner,
Peter and Paul, John and James and the other apostles,
Stephen the first martyr,
Mary, the Mother of the Lord,
And all the saints, martyrs and doctors of the Church, in every age and in every land.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: May the Lord God, in His mercy
give us with them hope in His salvation
and in the promise of eternal life in His Kingdom.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.

(free prayers)

...through Jesus Christ, our High Priest.
W: O Lord, hear our prayer.
D: Come Holy Spirit of charity,
fill the hearts of Thy faithful people,
and kindle in them the fire of Thy love;
come Lord Jesus, come quickly.
W: Maranatha, the Lord cometh.

Offertory hymn

(Offertory of the day; antiphon and verses of a psalm if there be one, sung as at the Gradual)[164]

Offertory prayer

D: Let us pray *(silence, followed by the Offertory prayer of the day)*
W: Amen.

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[164] During this hymn the bread and wine and offerings are brought to the altar; or the bread and wine, if already on the altar, are uncovered.

Eucharistic prayer

Dialogue

C: The Lord be with you.
W: And with thy spirit.
C: Lift up your hearts.
W: We lift them up unto the Lord.
C: Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.
W: It is meet and right so to do.

Preface

C: (*Preface of the day, see pp.67-85*)

Sanctus

W: Holy, Holy, Holy. Lord God of hosts, Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory. Hosanna in the highest.
Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

Epiclesis

OUR FATHER, GOD OF THE HOSTS OF HEAVEN
FILL WITH THY GLORY
THIS OUR SACRIFICE OF PRAISE.

BLESS, PERFECT AND ACCEPT
THIS OFFERING
AS THE FIGURE
OF THE ONE AND ONLY SACRIFICE OF OUR LORD.

SEND THY HOLY SPIRIT
UPON US AND OUR EUCHARIST:
CONSECRATE THIS BREAD TO BE THE BODY OF CHRIST
AND THE CUP TO BE THE BLOOD OF CHRIST;
THAT THE CREATOR SPIRIT
MAY FULFIL THE WORD OF THY WELL-BELOVED SON.

Institution

WHO, IN THE SAME NIGHT THAT HE WAS
BETRAYED TOOK BREAD
AND, WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THANKS, BRAKE IT
AND GAVE IT TO HIS DISCIPLES, SAYING:
TAKE, EAT,
THIS IS MY BODY WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU;
DO THIS AS THE MEMORIAL OF ME.

LIKEWISE, AFTER SUPPER
HE TOOK THE CUP
AND, WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THANKS,
HE GAVE IT TO HIS DISCIPLES, SAYING:
DRINK YE ALL OF THIS,
FOR THIS CUP IS THE NEW COVENANT
IN MY BLOOD
WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY
FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS;
WHENEVER YE DRINK IT,
DO THIS AS THE MEMORIAL OF ME.

WHENEVER
WE EAT THIS BREAD
AND DRINK THIS CUP,
WE PROCLAIM THE LORD'S DEATH
TILL HE COME.

Memorial

WHEREFORE, O LORD,
WE MAKE BEFORE THEE
THE MEMORIAL OF THE INCARNATION
AND THE PASSION OF THY SON,
HIS RESURRECTION FROM HIS SOJOURN WITH THE
DEAD,
HIS ASCENSION INTO GLORY IN THE HEAVENS,
HIS PERPETUAL INTERCESSION
FOR US;
WE AWAIT AND PRAY FOR HIS RETURN.

ALL THINGS COME OF THEE AND OUR ONLY
OFFERING
IS TO RECALL THY GIFTS AND MARVELLOUS WORKS.

MOREOVER WE PRESENT TO THEE,
O LORD OF GLORY
AS OUR THANKSGIVING
AND INTERCESSION
THE SIGN OF THE ETERNAL SACRIFICE OF CHRIST,
UNIQUE AND PERFECT, LIVING AND HOLY
THE BREAD OF LIFE WHICH COMETH DOWN FROM HEAVEN
AND THE CUP OF THE FEAST IN THY KINGDOM.

IN THY LOVE AND MERCY
ACCEPT OUR PRAISE AND OUR PRAYERS
IN CHRIST,
AS THOU WAST PLEASED TO ACCEPT
THE GIFTS OF THY SERVANT ABEL THE RIGHTEOUS,
THE SACRIFICES OF OUR FATHER ABRAHAM,
AND OF MELCHIZEDEK,
THY HIGH PRIEST.

Invocation

ALMIGHTY GOD, WE BESEECH THEE
THAT THIS PRAYER MAY BE BORNE
BY THE HANDS OF THINE ANGEL
TO THY ALTAR IN THY PRESENCE ON HIGH;
AND WHEN WE RECEIVE,
COMMUNICATING AT THIS TABLE,
THE BODY AND BLOOD OF THY SON,
MAY WE BE FILLED WITH THE HOLY SPIRIT
AND ENDOWED WITH GRACE
AND HEAVENLY BLESSINGS,
THROUGH CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR.

Conclusion

BY WHOM, O LORD,
THOU EVER DOST CREATE, SANCTIFY, QUICKEN,
BLESS AND GIVE US ALL THY BENEFITS.

BY WHOM,
AND WITH WHOM,
AND IN WHOM,
BE UNTO THEE,
O FATHER ALMIGHTY,

IN THE UNITY OF THE HOLY SPIRIT,
ALL HONOUR AND GLORY,
WORLD WITHOUT END.

W: AMEN.

Lord's Prayer

C: Enlightened by the Saviour's precept, and taught by His commandment, we are bold to say:

Our Father, which art in Heaven,
hallowed be Thy Name,
Thy Kingdom come,
Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven,
Give us this day our daily bread,
And forgive us our trespasses
As we forgive them that trespass against us.
Lead us not into temptation,
but deliver us from evil.
For Thine is the Kingdom, the power and the glory,
for ever and ever.
Amen.

Fraction

C: The bread which we break is the communion of the Body of Christ. The cup of blessing for which we give thanks is the communion of the Blood of Christ. Since there is but one bread, we who are many form one body, for we all share in this one bread.

Agnus Dei

W: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us!
O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us!
O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, grant us Thy peace!

Kiss of peace

C: O Lord Jesus Christ, who didst say to Thine apostles:
Peace I leave with you,

My peace I give unto you,
Regard not my sins but the faith of Thy Church;
according to Thy will, grant her peace,
and gather her into unity,
for Thou livest and reignest world without end. Amen.
Peace be with thee.

D: And with thy spirit.

(The kiss of peace goes from the celebrant to the deacon, then to the sub-deacon and from him to the community and to the congregation)

Invitation

C: Holy things for the holy.

W: One only is holy, one only is the Lord:
Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father.

C: Taste and see how gracious the Lord is.
Come, for all is prepared.

Communion hymn

(*Communion hymn of the day: antiphon and verses of a psalm, if there be one, sung as at the gradual*)

Communion

W: I will receive the Bread of Heaven and call upon the name of the Lord:
Lord, I am not worthy that Thou shouldest come under my roof,
but speak one word only and I shall be healed.
May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ
preserve my life unto eternity!

(*The celebrant communicates*)

What reward shall I give unto the Lord for all the benefits
He hath done unto me?

I will raise the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord.
I will cry out: Praised be the Lord,
and I shall be delivered from mine enemies.
May the Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ
preserve my life unto eternity.

(*The celebrant gives communion to the officiants, saying to the deacon*:)

C: The Body of Christ.
The Blood of Christ, the cup of Life.
(The deacon and the sub-deacon and other officiants, if there be any such, give communion to the community and to the congregation; the deacon begins by saying:)

D: Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.
(At the end the celebrant says:)
C: Depart in peace!

(*Each goes back to his place, taking up the communion hymn, if there be one: the antiphon and other verses of the psalm*)

Prayer of thanksgiving

D: Let us pray (*silence, followed by Post-Communion of the day*)
W: Amen.

Blessing

D: Let us bless the Lord.
W: Thanks be to God.
C or **P:** May God Almighty,
the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, bless you.
W: Amen.

Prayer to Saint Pius X

O Saint Pius X, glory of the priesthood and pride of the Christian people, in whom humility seemed to join hands with greatness, austerity with gentleness, simple piety with profound learning; you, Pope of the Eucharist and of the Catechism, of whole faith and fearless resolution, turn your gaze towards the Holy Church you have loved so much and to which you gave the richest of the treasures which the divine bounty had so prodigally bestowed on your soul.

Obtain for her integrity and constancy in the midst of the difficulties and persecutions of our time, and raise up poor mankind from the sorrows which so afflicted you that they finally stilled the beating of your great heart. Make peace triumph in this shaken world, peace which means harmony among the nations, fraternal understanding and sincere collaboration among the social classes, love and charity among men, so that in this way the agonies which wore out your apostolic life may be transformed by your intercession into a reality of happiness, to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns throughout all ages. Amen.

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